

PECULUM

JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

F. M. L.
1831



JULY, 1931

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY
THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

The purpose of the Mediaeval Academy of America is to conduct, encourage, promote, and support research, publication, and instruction in mediaeval records, literature, languages, art, archaeology, history, philosophy, science, life, and all other aspects of mediaeval civilization.

OFFICERS

President

DANA CARLETON MUNRO
Princeton University

First Vice-President

CHARLES RUFUS MOREY
Princeton University

Third Vice-President

ARTHUR CHARLES LEWIS BROWN
Newhampton University

Clerk

RALPH ADAMS CRAM
Boston, Mass.

Second Vice-President

NORMAN SCOTT BRILES GRAY
Harvard University

Treasurer

JOHN NICHOLAS BROWN
Fairhaven, N. S.

Executive Secretary

JOHN MARSHALL
Cambridge, Mass.

Council

EDWARD COOKE ARMSTRONG
Dartmouth University

GEORGE HALEIGH COFFMAN
University of North Carolina

LANE COOPER
Cornell University

CHARLES HOMER HASKINS
Harvard University

THOMAS ATKINSON JENKINS
University of Chicago

HENRY GODFARD LEACH
New York City

HOWARD ROLLIN PATCH
Smith College

EDWARD KENNARD RAND
Harvard University

FRED NORMAN ROBINSON
Harvard University

JAMES HUGH RYAN
Catholic University of America

ALEXANDER ALEXANDROVICH VARLIEV
University of Wisconsin

ERNEST HATCH WILKINS
Obolens College

SPECULUM is sent free to all members of the Academy. Any person desiring to become a member is requested to communicate with the Executive Secretary. Subscription to SPECULUM is restricted to libraries and other institutions not eligible for membership.

SPECULUM

A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

Volume VI, Number 3

July, 1931

Published Quarterly by

THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor-in-Chief

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD

Managing Editor

SAMUEL HAZZARD CROSS

Assistant Managing Editor

ALLAN EVANS

RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI

University of California

PETER GUILDAY

Catholic University of America

GEORGE LAPIANA

Harvard University

Assistant Managing Editor

CHARLES HOLT TAYLOR

Publishing Editor

JOHN NICHOLAS BROWN

DANA CARLETON MUNRO

Princeton University

JOHN STRONG PERRY TATLOCK

University of California

ALEXANDER A. VASILIEV

University of Wisconsin

ADVISORY BOARD

PHILIP SCHUYLER ALLEN

University of Chicago

MYRTILLA AVERY

Wellesley College

ALBERT CROLL BAUGH

University of Pennsylvania

CORNELIA CATLIN COULTER

Mount Holyoke College

ETIENNE GILSON

Universities of Paris and Toronto

CHARLES HOMER HASKINS

Harvard University

MAX LUDWIG WOLFRAM LAISTNER

Cornell University

WILLIAM EDWARD LUNT

Haverford College

RICHARD McKEON

Columbia University

CHARLES D. MAGINNIS

Boston, Massachusetts

FRANCIS PEABODY MAGOUN, JR

Harvard University

KEMP MALONE

Johns Hopkins University

JAMES BUELL MUNN

New York University

JAMES JAY PARRY

University of Illinois

HOWARD ROLLIN PATCH

Smith College

EDWARD KENNARD RAND

Harvard University

BUSINESS BOARD

AMOS PHILIP McMAHON

New York University

JOHN MARSHALL

Cambridge, Mass.

GEORGE ARTHUR PLIMPTON

New York City

CONTENTS

The Western Attitude Toward Islam during the Crusades	Dana C. Munro 329
Roger Bacon and the Voynich MS	J. M. Manly 345
Authorship of the <i>Moralium Dogma Philosophorum</i>	J. R. Williams 392
Plan for a <i>Corpus Commentariorum Averrois in Aristotelem</i>	H. A. Wolfson 412
König Alfreds Geografie	G. Hübener 428
The Arabic <i>History of Dulcarnain</i>	A. R. Anderson 434
Blasphemy in the <i>Lex Romana Curiensis</i>	F. S. Lear 445
Franco-Saxon Ornamentation at Tours	L. W. Jones 459
'All the World's a Chess-board'.	Lynn Thorndike 461
Two Notes on Wyclif	I. H. Stein 465
Bishop Gundulph of Rochester and the Vulgate	S. H. Thompson 468
REVIEWS	471
<p style="margin: 0;">C. H. Beeson, <i>Lupus of Ferrières</i> (E. K. Rand); A. Blanck, <i>Konung Alexander</i> (F. P. Magoun, Jr); M. A. Burns, <i>St John Chrysostom's Homilies on the Statues</i> (A. C. Way); H. C. Butler, <i>Early Churches in Syria</i> (K. J. Conant); E. H. Byrne, <i>Genoese Shipping</i> (A. P. Usher); F. Cognasso, <i>Amedeo VIII</i> (G. La Piana); T. P. Cross and W. A. Nitze, <i>Lancelot and Guenevere</i> (J. J. Parry); W. H. French, C. B. Hale, <i>Middle English Metrical Romances</i> (F. P. Magoun, Jr); P. de Meester, <i>Liturgia Bizantina</i> (A. Strittmatter); V. Mortet and P. Deschamps, <i>Textes Relatifs à l'Architecture en France</i> (A. K. Porter); G. Müller, <i>Aus Mitteleuropäischen Medizinischen Texten</i> (B. J. Whiting); A. R. Nykl, <i>Compendium of Aljamiado Literature</i> (F. P. Magoun, Jr); M. B. O'Brien, <i>Titles of Address in Christian Latin Epistolography</i> (M. B. Ogle); J. Sofer, <i>Lateinisches und Romanisches aus den Etymologiae des Isidorus von Sevilla</i> (U. T. Holmes); B. Wol-edge, <i>L'Atre Périlleux</i> (G. H. Gifford).</p>	
Announcement of Books Received	496

SPECULUM is indexed in *The International Index to Periodicals* and *The Art Index*.

The Editors of *SPECULUM* should be addressed in care of the Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Massachusetts, (cable address, 'Speculum, Cambridgemass.'). The Editors cannot be responsible for manuscripts sent to any other address. The attention of contributors is called to the 'Notes for Contributors' printed each year at the end of the January issue.

S P E C U L U M

A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

THE WESTERN ATTITUDE TOWARD ISLAM DURING THE PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES¹

BY DANA CARLETON MUNRO

AT THE time of the First Crusade, very little was known in western Europe about the Muslims and their religion. This may seem strange, as Prutz points out², when we consider how long the Christians had been fighting against the followers of the Prophet and how many pilgrims had visited the Holy Land. In the accounts of the pilgrimages there is little if any information about the Prophet or the beliefs of Islam and very little about the character and customs of the Saracens. What little is said in the earlier accounts is favorable. A passage from Bernard the Wise has often been quoted, 'The Christians and pagans have there such peace between them, that if I should go a journey, and in the journey my camel or ass which carries my baggage should die, and I should leave everything there without a guard, and go to the next town to get another, on my return I should find all my property untouched.' In general, except for a short period early in the eleventh century when the mad Hakim persecuted both Jews and Christians, pilgrims were not persecuted by the Muslims and were allowed freely to visit the Holy Sepulchre and other spots hallowed by the events of the Old and New Testaments. When large bands with evidences of wealth began to go on pilgrimages, the cupidity of the Bedouins was aroused. The attack on Bishop Gunther and his companions on the pilgrimage in 1064-1065 was the outstanding instance; but it is to be noted that they were rescued by a Saracen force as soon as their plight was known. Joranson brings out very acutely that the account of 'the harrowing experiences' of Gunther and his associates was writ-

¹ Presidential address read at the Sixth Annual Meeting of the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA, April 25, 1931.

² H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1883), p. 72.

ten about the year 1075, that is, just at the time when Pope Gregory VII announced 'the project of an armed expedition against the enemies of God,' which he stated in one of his letters was 'designed to go to the Lord's Sepulchre.'¹ Thus the inception of the crusading movement was accompanied by propaganda to excite the passions of the Christians against the Muslims.

How far such propaganda was used by Pope Urban II is uncertain. At the Council of Clermont, he spoke more or less definitely about the sufferings of their fellow Christians in the East. Fulcher of Chartres, who was living in the Holy Land when he wrote his account of the speech, represented Urban as saying that the Turks 'have killed and captured many, have destroyed the churches and devastated the Kingdom of God.' The Archbishop Baldric of Dol makes the Pope speak indefinitely of 'dire sufferings, scourgings, and enslavements.' According to Guibert of Nogent, Urban dwelt upon the extortion and unspeakable cruelty from which the pilgrims had suffered and said, 'remember, I pray you, the thousands who have perished vile deaths.' But Robert the Monk was not content with such generalities. In his version of the speech, he dwells at length on the atrocities committed by the Muslims:

'From the confines of Jerusalem and the city of Constantinople a horrible tale has gone forth and very frequently has been brought to our ears; namely, that a race from the kingdom of the Persians, an accursed race, a race utterly alienated from God, a generation, forsooth, which has neither directed its heart nor entrusted its spirit to God, has invaded the lands of those Christians and has depopulated them by the sword, pillage, and fire; it has led away a part of the captives into its own country, and a part it has destroyed by cruel tortures; it has either entirely destroyed the churches of God or appropriated them for the rites of its own religion. They destroy the altars, after having defiled them with their uncleanness.'

Then he gives some of the special atrocities, dwelling upon the hideous cruelty, torture, and rape. The purpose is brought out clearly in the following passage: 'On whom, therefore, is the task of avenging these wrongs and of recovering this territory incumbent, if not upon you? You, upon whom above other nations God has con-

¹ *The Crusades and other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro* (New York: Crofts, 1928), p. 43.

ferred remarkable glory in arms, great courage, bodily energy, and the strength to humble the hairy scalp of those who resist you.'

Robert, however, is not as full or as explicit concerning the atrocities as is the so-called *Epistola Spuria* of the Emperor Alexius I. This document presents additional details of the cruelties and mockery of the victims. It was certainly written before Robert composed his history, and was used as an *excitatorium* to arouse the Christians to take the Cross against the infidels. It was a more brutal age than ours, and the atrocities which are alleged to have been committed were highly spiced to suit the spirit of the time. That the letter was widely used to influence the western Christians is attested by the numerous manuscripts which have been preserved. It is not necessary here to go into the vexed questions of the date and provenance of the letter and into its undoubted connection with Robert's account. At first, the tales of atrocities were fully credited and undoubtedly had a great influence in inciting many to take the Cross.

Other varieties of propaganda were also used. The Muslims were held up to detestation as worshippers of false gods and idols. This is a commonplace in the literature of the age. The *Song of Roland* says 'the Muslim loves not God, serves Mahound, and worships Apollon.' The *History of Charles the Great and Orlando* by the pseudo-Turpin, recounts how 'the Emperor utterly destroyed the idols and images in Spain, except in Andalusia. . . . The Saracens had a tradition that the idol Mahomet, which they worshipped, was made by himself in his lifetime; and that by the help of a legion of devils it was by magic art endued with such irresistible strength that it could not be broken. If any Christian approached it he was exposed to great danger; but when the Saracens came to appease Mahomet, and make their supplications to him, they returned in safety. The birds that chanced to light upon it were immediately struck dead.'

For the purpose of propaganda, much was made of the supposed idolatry of the Muslims. Widespread was the belief that they worshipped Mohammed as a god, and had other gods and idols; and this belief was fostered by the accounts written by participants in

the Crusades. The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* reported Corboran (Corborgha) as swearing 'by Mohammed and all the gods,' and his account was widely copied and served as the basis for the histories written by Robert, Baldric, Guibert, and others who repeated its statement. This belief in Mohammed as a god is frequently repeated throughout the period of the Crusades. In fact, Humbert of Romans, who wrote about 1274, declares, 'there are men not only among laymen but also clerks who know nothing about Mohammed or the Saracens except that they have heard that they are infidels, not believing in Christ, and think the Saracens believe in Mohammed as their god, which nevertheless is false.'

Bishop Thiemo, who lost his life on the Crusade of 1101, was reported to have been tortured to death because he refused to worship the idols of the Muslims. It was commonly reported that Tancred in 1099 had found a silver idol of Mohammed in the Temple of the Lord. The origin of this fable is interesting. It arose from a misunderstanding and mistranslation of Fulcher of Chartres; and he has generally been held responsible for the story, since modern scholars have usually made the same mistake as did his contemporary copyists. Of course, the story grew in the telling, and the silver idol became larger and heavier so that ten men could scarcely lift it. One hundred years later Jacques de Vitry wrote: 'as often as the followers of Mohammed possess the Temple of Solomon, they set up his statue in the Temple and permit no Christian to enter.' Possibly there may have been some grounds for the belief that the Muslims had idols. The Franks thought of all non-Christians whom they found in the Holy Land as Muslims, and some of the heretical sects may have had idols; for example, the Crusaders may have heard of the golden calf of the Druses. Büdinger calls attention to the fact that some of the heretical Mohammedans in eastern Syria did have idols in the tenth century and possibly later.¹

The marriage customs of the Muslims naturally gave rise to accusations against their morals, which were common throughout the period of the Crusades. This is shown in the account of Guibert of Nogent, which is also important as a statement of the actual knowl-

¹ Vienna Academy, *Sitzungsberichte*, xcviII (1881), 354, note 1.

edge, or ignorance, concerning Mohammed and his followers. When he wished to preface his history of the Crusades by an account of the Prophet and the beliefs of Islam, he says that he had not found anyone who had written about the life of Mohammed or his conduct, and consequently was able only to tell what he had heard on the common report of those best informed. He thought that the existence of 'this profane man' could not go back to a great antiquity because he had not been able to find that any Doctor of the Church had written against Mohammed's infamies. Then he tells the familiar story of the hermit who was disappointed in his candidacy for the patriarchate of Alexandria and consequently, tempted by the devil, trained Mohammed in heresy and arranged for his marriage with the wealthy widow. He recounts the latter's disgust when she found her husband was an epileptic and the hermit's reassurance that these fits revealed the fact that Mohammed was a prophet of God and was receiving divine instruction. Guibert relates the story of the cow who followed Mohammed everywhere and at his call appeared with the book of the law which permitted his followers to commit all kinds of turpitude in order the better to seduce them to follow him:

' . . . The more they abandoned themselves in all ways, as if authorized by heaven itself, to all kinds of excess in these permitted vices, the more they covered up the wickedness of it, in praising the grace of God, who accorded, in his indulgence, these loose times. All the severity of Christianity was condemned and given over to public insults; the teachings of honesty and virtue which had been laid down by the Evangels were accused of being hard, of being cruel; and on the contrary those that the cow had brought were called the teachings of generosity and were recognized as the only ones in accord with the liberty instituted by God himself. Neither the old Mosaic law, not the new catholic law could receive any belief; all that had been written before the law, under the law, under the régime of grace, was accused of irremediable falseness; and to employ, however improperly, the language of the Psalmist, they repeated everywhere that "God has not dealt so with any nation." . . . But since they did not place any restraint on the indulgence of the senses, one soon saw them giving themselves up to vices that even the ignorant animals ignore entirely and that are not even decent to mention. . . .

'Let us now recount the end of this great and marvelous law-giver. I

have already said that he was subject to attacks of epilepsy: one day as he was walking alone, he fell attacked by one of his convulsions, and while he was being tormented by it, some hogs, having come upon him, so completely devoured him that only his heels were found as remains. So thus this excellent law-giver is given over to the swine and eaten by them, so that his evil rule was terminated as just, by a most vile end. And certainly, while his heels were left, it was without doubt so that he could show those fools whom he had miserably seduced a witness of his perfidiousness and his deceits. Thus this illustrious man, happier than all hogs, can say with the poet: "Non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei vitabit libitinam".'

The last part of Guibert's account illustrates another kind of propaganda — ridicule. This may be the purpose of the passage which William of Malmesbury places in the mouth of Urban at the Council of Clermont:

'... feeble men, who, not having courage to engage in close encounter, love a flying mode of warfare. For the Turk never ventures upon close fight; but, when driven from his station, bends his bow at a distance, and trusts the winds with his meditated wound; and as he has poisoned arrows, venom, and not valour, inflicts the death on the man he strikes. Whatever he effects, then, I attribute to fortune, not to courage, because he wars by flight, and by poison. It is apparent too, that every race, born in that region, being scorched with the intense heat of the sun, abounds more in reflexion, than in blood; and, therefore, they avoid coming to close quarters, because they are aware how little blood they possess.'

Guibert did give some accurate information. He stated that the Muslims did not worship Mohammed as a god. Otto of Freising, who participated in the Second Crusade, doubted the legend of Thiemo because he said that it was well known that the Mohammedans did not worship idols. The notion of the cowardice of the Muslims was dispelled at once when the Crusaders came into conflict with them. The anonymous author of the *Gesta* becomes enthusiastic about their bravery when he describes the Battle of Dorylaeum:

'Whoever will be wise or learned enough to dare to describe the valor, skill, and fortitude of the Turks? Indeed, they say that they are of the Frankish race, and that no one ought naturally to be a knight except the Franks and themselves. I shall speak the truth, which no one will dare deny. Certainly, if they had ever been firm in the faith of Christ and holy Christianity, and had been willing to confess the One Lord in Trinity, and that the Son of God was born of a Virgin Mother, suffered, and arose

from the dead, and ascended to heaven while His disciples looked on, and then finally, sent the consolation of the Holy Spirit; and had believed with a right mind and faith in Him, ruling in heaven and on earth, no one could have found more powerful, braver, or more skilful fighters than they.'

Probably Guibert of Nogent had heard similar accounts of the Muslim's bravery from the participants in the Crusades who furnished him some of the material for his history, for he says, 'The empire of the Parthians, whom we call Turks by corruption of language, is superior to that of the Babylonians not in extent of territory (for it is smaller) but in the military talent, the chivalrous character, and the magnanimity which characterizes its inhabitants.'

Not only did the Franks learn to admire the valor of their foes but contact with them dispelled many prejudices. In Syria and Palestine, the Christians were brought into constant and close association with the natives, both Christian and Muslim. As the Crusaders were few in number, they had to rely on the natives for agriculture, in building the churches and castles, and even used them as soldiers. They made little distinction between the Christian heretics and the Muslims. As they lived in close proximity to the Muslim lords, courtesies were exchanged, and hunting pacts were made. It was manifestly impossible for either Frank or Saracen to engage in his favorite sport, hunting, if he was likely to be taken captive when engaged in the chase. Many Franks were made prisoners and long held in captivity. They were frequently well treated, allowed considerable liberty, and came to know their captors intimately; some Muslim captives fared equally well at the hands of the Christians; and in some cases from these captivities friendly relations resulted. Trade was a necessity for the Christian principalities, and commerce brought about contact with the Muslims. Frankish women were scarce and intermarriages were common. 'Some have taken wives not merely of their own people but Syrians, or Armenians, or even Saracens who have received the grace of baptism. Some have with them father-in-law, or daughter-in-law, or son-in-law, or step-son, or step-father.'

Alliances between Christian and Muslim were very frequent

¹ P. K. Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1929), p. 162

when either sought the aid of the other against a rival of his own faith. From these contacts sprang the friendships between Muslim and Christian of which Usāmah and other contemporaries write. The Christians preferred the Muslim doctors because of their greater skill in curing disease and less frequent use of the knife or axe. Common beliefs brought them together at some places of worship. Muslim as well as Christian venerated the spring where the Virgin had washed the clothes of the infant Jesus, the palm that bent its boughs so she could assuage her hunger, and the image near Damascus which healed Jews and Muslims as well as Christians.

With such conditions in the Holy Land, and with the constant going and coming of the pilgrims from the West and the building up of an active trade between the Orient and the Occident, the feeling about the Muslims became very different.

Possibly the feeling of hatred became less marked because the hatred was being transferred to the Byzantines. Mutual suspicion and frequent clashes in arms had marked the relations of the Byzantines and Crusaders during the First Crusade. When, after the capture of Nicaea, the Emperor gave great gifts to the leaders, Stephen of Blois waxed enthusiastic in a letter to his wife and tells her that he had received more from the Emperor than he got with her dowry; on the other hand, measures of brass coins had been distributed among the common people, and they felt aggrieved at being deprived of the pleasure of looting the city. Raymond the Chaplain expresses the feeling of many when he says that 'as long as they live the people will curse him and proclaim him a traitor' and, he continues, 'we recognized then that the Emperor had betrayed Peter the Hermit . . . for he compelled him . . . to cross the strait with his men and expose them to the Turks . . . who cut them down without effort and delay to the number of 60,000.'

The relations between the Emperor and the crusading leaders, especially Bohemund, became constantly more strained. Alexius was blamed for the failure of the Crusade of 1101, and a few years later Bohemund toured France denouncing the Emperor and raising a great army to attack the Byzantine Empire. From this time on until the capture of Constantinople in 1204, there was ever present an undercurrent of hostility to the Greeks. Consequently the Mus-

lims were seldom execrated or ridiculed as had been the custom during the early years of the Crusades.

Accounts of atrocities may still have been used occasionally to inflame the minds of the Christians, but in the sermons that have been preserved only indefinite expressions are found. This is true, for example, of the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux, of the Abbot Martin, and of Innocent III.

The propaganda against Islam now took on a new form. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, felt it necessary to counteract the prevalent tendencies by a refutation of the beliefs of Islam and a portrayal of the character of the Prophet. Interest had been aroused in the beliefs and doctrines of the Muslim antagonists. Possibly some reports had already come to the West of Christians who had been converted to the faith of Islam. But the more active influence seems to have been a visit to Spain by Peter the Venerable, made about 1141. There he witnessed 'the progress and power of the Saracens.' He determined to find out what the *Koran* contained so that its teaching might be refuted. He hired three Christian scholars and set them to work, together with an Arab, to translate the *Koran*, under the direction of his secretary. The translation cost Peter a large sum, and unfortunately it was very inaccurate and full of errors; but it was the only one known in the West until almost the end of the seventeenth century. Peter asked Bernard of Clairvaux to write a refutation of the *Koran*. When the latter refused, Peter himself undertook the task. He could not decide whether the Mohammedans were pagans or heretics, but in either case their teachings ought to be refuted and ridiculed. The portion of his work which has been preserved seems to be founded not only upon the translation of the *Koran* but also upon a life of Mohammed and a dialogue concerning the main points of his religion which Peter also had had translated from the Arabic. His work was frequently imitated, and polemical writings appeared in the various vernacular languages. As is to be expected in that age, they were frequently in verse. They did much to perpetuate the false beliefs about Mohammed and Islam which are so common in the literature of the thirteenth and the following centuries.

Such beliefs persisted in spite of the fact that more accurate in-

formation was given by Christians of approved faith even as early as the time of Saladin. Of especial interest is the account by Burchard, written about 1175 and incorporated in Arnold of Lübeck's *Chronicle*.¹ He had been sent by Frederick Barbarossa on a mission to Saladin. He gave a good statement of the beliefs of Islam, and lauded their tolerance. In Alexandria he reported that there were several Christian churches, and almost every village in Egypt had one. Every man was free to follow his own religion. He testified that most Moslems had only one wife. He told of their constancy in prayer and their belief that God was the creator of all things and Mohammed his most holy prophet and the author of their law, that the Blessed Virgin conceived by an Angel and after Christ's birth remained a Virgin; that the son of the Virgin was a prophet and was marvelously assumed by God into Heaven; and that they celebrate His birthday. They denied that he was the Son of God, that He was baptised, crucified, dead, and buried. They also believed, he declared, that the Apostles were prophets and they venerated many of the martyrs and confessors.

In spite of quoting this account by Burchard, Arnold of Lübeck elsewhere makes Saladin swear 'by the virtue of my god, Mohammed.' And he makes the Templar's reply to Saladin after the Battle of Hattin, 'We laugh at Maumath, the son of perdition, whom you call your god.'

Saladin was much admired in the west. His merciful conduct and generosity after the capture of Jerusalem, so different from that of the Crusaders in 1099, excited wonder. As was the custom among the Muslims, he was very tolerant. He allowed the Latin Christians to have two priests and two deacons at Jerusalem, at Bethlehem, and at Nazareth, and to carry on their services freely. He was noted for his courtesy. Between him and Richard the Lion-Hearted there were many friendly relations. Richard even proposed that his sister should marry the brother of Saladin and that the two should receive Jerusalem as a wedding present, thus ending the strife between Christians and Muslims. Many legends grew up about the name of the great Saracen leader, who was said to have received

¹ In the *Chronicle* he is called Gerhard; but as Laurent has shown in *Serapeum*, xix (1858), no. 10, and xx (1859), no. 11, this is a mistake.

knighthood from a Christian. Tales of his mercy and generosity were spread to the west. It is interesting to note that earlier in the century the Crusaders had explained the greatness of Zangi by the belief that he was the son of the Countess Ida who had taken part in the Crusade of 1101; at the time of the Third Crusade, Qilig Arslam was supposed to be descended from the German nobility; but after the fame of Saladin had spread, a legend grew up to explain the greatness of Thomas à Becket by the fact that he had had a Saracen mother. All of these factors caused a very different feeling about the Muslims especially when, as has already been suggested, the hatred of the Byzantines became the dominant factor among many of the westerners.

A remarkable change was evident in the thirteenth century on the part of some Christians. The missionary journey of St Francis of Assisi to the Moslem countries is well known. St Louis of France is said to have directed the Crusade of 1270 to Tunis from the mistaken belief that the ruler of that country was ready to receive baptism, and he is reported to have said that he would love to be the god-father of such a god-son. This century saw the beginning of a period of great missionary activity. A plan was formed to have oriental languages taught in the University of Paris so that missionaries might be trained in the use of the necessary tongues. Later in the century, there was also a suggestion that Christian girls should be sent out as missionaries to marry Muslims and then convert their husbands.

Several writers of this period were influenced by the missionary movement. Oliver the Scholastic, in his *Historia Damiatina*, tells how the son of Saladin had destroyed Jerusalem in 1219, except the Temple of the Lord and the Tower of David. The Saracens considered destroying the Holy Sepulchre, but none dared to do so because of their reverence for the place. The book of the law, the *Koran*, says that Christ was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary and lived without sin that He was a Prophet and more than a Prophet; He restored sight to the blind, cleansed the lepers, and raised the dead. The Muslims believe, Oliver asserts, that He is the word and spirit of God and ascended alive into Heaven. They deny His passion and death, the union of the divine and human na-

tures in Him, and the Trinity. Therefore, they should be called heretics rather than Saracens, but the usage of the false name has prevailed. When in the time of the Truce their learned men went up to Jerusalem, they asked to be shown the Gospels and they kissed and venerated these because of the cleanliness of the doctrines which Christ taught and especially because of the verse in the Gospel of Luke, 'He sent His Angel Gabriel,' which the learned among them often repeat and discuss.

Oliver likewise declares that their book of the law which, at the dictation of the devil and through the agency of the monk Sergius, apostate and heretic, Mohammed gave to the Saracens, written in Arabic, has won its victories by the sword, holds its territory through the sword, and will be ended by the sword (this idea will be taken up more fully by later writers).

In 1221, Oliver wrote a letter to 'the King of Babylon' urging him to accept the Christian teaching, and in this letter he stressed the many points of belief common to the followers of the two religions. At the same time, he wrote a similar letter to the Doctors in Egypt, that is, the learned Mussulmen. In his letter to the King, he mentioned a debate which had taken place between a Christian, a Jew, and a Muslim in which the Christian placed the Mosaic above the Muslim law, the Jew preferred the Christian doctrines to the Muslim, and the Muslim placed the Christian above the Jewish. He argues from this circumstance the superiority of the Christian religion, since the two non-Christians praised it. This custom of debate between the adherents of the different religions seems to have been common, much as a St Louis might have condemned the practice. It is interesting to note that a century earlier it had not occurred to Abelard to introduce a Muslim into his debate where the Christian, the Jew, and the philosopher appear, although the Muslim would have fitted in well with the argument; but too little was known about the Muslim faith in the first half of the twelfth century.

Jacques de Vitry also attempted to convert the Muslims. He says in one of his letters, 'as I was not able to preach in the land of the Saracens, I showed the errors of their religion and the truth of ours by letters which I sent to them, written in the Saracen tongue.'¹

¹ Philipp Funk, *Jakob von Vitry: Leben und Werke* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1909), p. 138.

He may have had access to the work which William of Tyre had written about the Muslims. He certainly was acquainted with the writing of Peter the Venerable, who had also wished to convert them. His accounts of Mohammed and of Islam are very biased, but contain some accurate statements. He has the date for Mohammed approximately correct, he derives the name of the Saraceni from Sara and that of the Agarini from Agar. He tells correctly the Muslim belief about the Virgin and John the Baptist. He knows the books of the Bible which they receive. Most of those who did follow Jacques de Vitry chose his inaccurate statements rather than the true ones to quote. This is done by Matthew Paris, who uses both Jacques de Vitry and also another unnamed source, possibly Guibert; from the latter, he copies the story of Mohammed's being eaten by the pigs, and explains by this the Muslim's abhorrence of pork. Some others explain this in another way.

The accounts written in the second half of the thirteenth century are frequently more accurate. William of Tripoli, who wrote about 1271, wished to facilitate the task of the missionaries to the Muslims. He knew Arabic, and had been requested to write by Thedaldus, later Pope Gregory X. He first gives an account of Mohammed, and follows the Bahyra legend. He tells how Mohammed was appalled by the discovery that he had himself, while intoxicated, killed his teacher, and consequently forbade the use of wine to his followers. He believed that the power of Islam was nearing its end, and cited various alleged prophecies of the Mohammedans to show that the destruction of the Caliphate by Hulagu portended the end of the rule of the Saracens. He says that the *Koran* was compiled by learned Muslims; he states the Muslim belief that it contains the sayings of Mohammed transmitted by the Angel Gabriel, but he says that he has learned from Catholic Christians that this is not true, and that, fifteen years after the Prophet's death, a commission was appointed to draw up the book. As they found nothing worth while in Mohammed's teachings, they themselves composed the *Koran*. In discussing the contents of the letter, he says that it contains much praise of the Creator, lauding His power, knowledge, goodness, mercy, justice, and equity. It also commends those who believe in God and act justly. It praises and extols above all sons of men Jesus,

the Son of Mary, and above all women Mary. It commends and praises all the Holy Fathers of the Old Testament. Four books the Muslim believes have come down from Heaven, the *Law*, the *Gospels*, the *Psalter*, the book of the Prophets, and a fifth, the *Koran*. The last mentions Mohammed only in two places and does not praise him at all. William gives other teachings of the *Koran* at considerable length, stressing those which are similar to the Christian doctrines, and concludes that the Muslims are close to the Christian faith and to the way of salvation. Then he describes briefly their marital customs and the Muslim paradise.

Humbert of Romans, Master-General of the Dominican order, wrote a pamphlet of advice for Pope Gregory X. As he had lived in the Holy Land, he possessed intimate knowledge, and his account is one of the most valuable. He says Mohammed's law is fraudulent, but the Saracens believe it was delivered by an angel. It pictures Paradise so that the most bestial man can understand it: full of delights of the flesh. The Muslim law, he continues, does not teach great austerity, but encourages lust and the enjoyment of many women. Mohammed does not threaten eternal punishment, but promises final salvation to true followers. He does not emphasize the disagreeable aspect of alms, prayers, and fasts. From this it is obvious that Mohammed's law was devised to destroy that of the Christians, whose religion is difficult in creed, as it is above reason, difficult in the austerities of this life, and difficult in its doctrine of eternal damnation for the wicked. For this reason, says Humbert, evil and foolish men are more easily turned from Christianity to Mohammedanism than vice versa. 'And thus it actually happens that many Christians are going over and have gone over to the Saracen faith. . . .' Some, he observes, object that it is wrong to attack the Saracens, as this does not make for conversion, but, on the contrary, incites them further against the Christian faith; when we conquer and kill them we send them to hell, which is contrary to Christian charity; and when we conquer their land, we have not obtained permanent power over those who cultivate and live on it, since our men do not wish to remain in those parts; in all there is no spiritual or temporal profit from this war.

The world, Humbert declares, was once converted to Christianity

by preaching, miracles, and the holy example of the preachers. The Saracens exclude preachers, they decapitate anyone speaking against Mohammed's law or sect. The time of miracles is past; examples of Christian believers do not move the Saracens. They prefer their own prayers, fasts, pilgrimages, etc., to ours. What is more absurd, they prefer their own incontinence to our continence. Christian continence they call superstition, as may be seen in a letter of a Saracen to his Christian friend in which he invited the Christian to become a Saracen. There is no hope of converting them. They will always be in the world and multiply in increasing numbers unless they are destroyed by a Christian or barbarian power. Just as Mohammed acquired the world with the sword, Humbert concludes that he will likewise lose it by the sword.

Burchard of Mount Zion, who wrote about 1283, was often copied by later writers, for instance, by Marco Sanudo. Laurent calls Burchard the most noteworthy of all the mediaeval pilgrims. His account gives the beliefs of Islam accurately and concludes 'they are very hospitable, courteous, and kindly.'

Ricoldus, who wrote about 1294, says that 'we have been amazed that among the followers of so perfidious a law works of so great perfection are found.' He then records briefly some works of perfection on the part of the Saracens, more to reproach the Christians than to praise the Saracens. 'But who is not amazed by their zeal, devotion in prayer, mercy to the poor, reverence for the name of God, the prophets and holy places, their courtesy in manners, their affability to strangers, their concord and love for one another?'

Despite such testimony, the attitude of the majority of the clergy remained unchanged. They felt that it was impossible to convert the Muslims. They were alarmed at the number of Christians who had gone over to Islam. In 1274, Pope Gregory X felt it necessary to forbid giving any aid to apostate Templars. In a treaty made with the Muslims in 1283, the Franks were compelled to promise to protect the rights of renegades from the Christian faith. The Popes were working for a new Crusade and encouraged the propaganda against Islam.



ROGER BACON AND THE VOYNICH MS

By JOHN MATTHEWS MANLY

IT is now more than fifteen years since the late Wilfred M. Voynich brought to America a mysterious manuscript which he had found hidden in the treasure chest of a south European castle. With characteristic generosity, he not only showed it to many American scholars, as he had shown it to those of Europe, but also gave photostats of many pages to those who professed a serious intention to undertake the solution of its mysteries.

That the manuscript is in the highest degree mysterious admits of no doubt. One of the most eminent of French savants declared, 'C'est une diablerie.' Externally it is a small quarto of rough vellum (9 in. x 6 in.), containing now 116 folios and several large folding sheets. Originally it seems to have consisted of 17 quires of 8 leaves or 16 pages. Many pages contain drawings accompanied by inscriptions in a strange form of writing not known to occur anywhere except in this volume, and there is a large body of continuous text in the same script. Some of the drawings represent whole plants, as in a herbal; others, roots and leaves. Some are obviously astronomical diagrams, with distinct suggestions of occultism; still others have been interpreted by modern biologists as representing cell structures, ova, spermatozoa, and other biological phenomena.¹ The volume as a whole apparently deals with some branch or branches of medical science; a few of the characters used in the script appear in other occult writings of the Middle Ages, but the script as a whole is unlike that of any known language.

Of the many attempts to read the cipher only one has been announced as successful. In April, 1921, at public meetings of the American Philosophical Society and the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, before brilliant and learned audiences, the method of solution and certain tentative results were skilfully explained and illustrated by the discoverer, Professor William Romaine Newbold.

The method was understood by few. The results were in the high-

¹ See W. R. Newbold, *The Cipher of Roger Bacon*, ed. by R. G. Kent, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928, Chap. III.

est degree sensational. The manuscript — if Professor Newbold's interpretation of it was correct — was one of the most important documents in the whole history of scientific thought. Not only did he find confirmation of the rumor current in the sixteenth century at the court of the Emperor Rudolf II that the mysterious writing was the work of the English friar, Roger Bacon — that was only a beginning — he credited him with palaeographical knowledge of the most recondite sort and asserted that the MS was a document in which this thirteenth century friar, to avoid the dangers then awaiting the unconventional thinker, had secretly recorded discoveries made with a compound microscope — constructed centuries before its known invention — discoveries in which this unparalleled genius had anticipated the theories of twentieth century biologists and histologists concerning germ cells, ova, spermatozoa, and the general mechanism of organic life.

For several years after this first disclosure of his results it was rumored that Professor Newbold was at work on a complete decipherment of the mysterious MS. From time to time we heard reports of new revelations: a medical treatment for Pope Clement IV; a recipe for refining copper ores, that had been verified by chemists of the University of Pennsylvania.¹ In the midst of all this came the distressing news of Professor Newbold's untimely death.

But it appears that he had not only completed several chapters of a book but had also left a large mass of work sheets, rough drafts, and extensive notes; and — even more important — he had from the very beginning of his investigations discussed every phase of his work and every new discovery with a sympathetic and intelligent friend. This friend, Professor Roland G. Kent, in 1928, with devoted fidelity, published a volume which sets forth Professor Newbold's work clearly, skilfully, and impressively.

My own acquaintance with Professor Newbold's cipher has extended over several years, for he sent me his alphabets in 1921, and from time to time communicated to me the materials and results which now constitute several chapters of Professor Kent's book. Be-

¹ Later it appeared (see below) that these revelations were derived, not from the Voynich MS., but from documents written in Latin.

fore I had thoroughly tested the methods of Professor Newbold, I was disposed to welcome his results, for I had long been romantically interested in Roger Bacon and was eager to believe, with Professor Newbold, that he was the greatest scientific genius the world has ever possessed. In an article in *Harper's Magazine* for June, 1921, I pointed out the unreliability of the supposed cipher, but — influenced by the interpretations given to the biological drawings by eminent scientists — I emphasized the attractiveness of the problem and the need for further study. But the more I studied the nature and operation of the cipher system attributed to Bacon, the more clearly did I see that it was incapable of being used as a medium of communication, and was indeed not Bacon's work but the subconscious creation of Professor Newbold's own enthusiasm and ingenuity. I told Professor Newbold my conclusions and gave my reasons for them in several letters, and if this were a mere matter of curious and insignificant learning, I should be content to let the subject rest.

But Professor Newbold's decipherments have already been accepted by some eminent scientists and philosophers, and consequently threaten to falsify, to no unimportant degree, the history of human thought. One of the most eminent philosophers of France, Professor Gilson,¹ though bewildered by the method, has accepted the results; Professor Raoul Carton, the well-known Baconian specialist, in two long articles² accepts both method and results with enthusiasm; and American chemists and biologists have been similarly impressed. The interests of scientific truth therefore demand a careful examination of the claims of the Newbold cipher.

In my opinion, the Newbold claims are entirely baseless and should be definitely and absolutely rejected. In the first place, the cipher system as expounded and worked by Professor Newbold is not a practicable means of communication, for the decipherer could never know that the message he got from the cipher was that intended by the encipherer. In the second place, the application of the cipher system to certain basic texts is open to objections of so grave a character as to make it impossible to accept the results. Passages

¹ *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature*, LXII (1928), 378-83.

² *Revue d'Histoire de la Philosophie*, III (1929), 31-66 and 165-79.

which certainly were not enciphered by Bacon gave Professor Newbold decipherments which he accepted as genuine messages from Bacon. In one case, he got three different decipherments from the same basic text; in another, he got satisfactory decipherments from texts erroneously transliterated. Finally, the messages deciphered contain assumptions and statements which could not have emanated from Bacon or any other thirteenth century scholar.

I. THE CIPHER SYSTEM AND ITS DEFECTS

The cipher system is explained in Chapters IV, VI, VII, and VIII of the Newbold-Kent volume, and information concerning the mode of discovery and application is given in Chapters V and IX. These are supplemented by Chapter XX, containing tables for encipherment and decipherment. In reality, Professor Newbold credited Bacon with two systems, which are best understood by taking them separately. The first of these, the Latin-text cipher, has, in reality, no connection with the Voynich MS., but is applicable only to certain Latin texts, mainly alchemical, in which Professor Newbold supposed Bacon to have concealed, by means of a cipher system, messages or records which he wished to hide from the eyes of the casual reader. The other system is a variation of this and has thus far been found, according to Professor Newbold, only in the Voynich MS.¹ I will discuss first the Latin-text cipher, both because it is fundamental to the second or shorthand system and because by far the greater part of the passages interpreted by Professor Newbold belong, not to the Voynich shorthand cipher, but to the Latin-text biliteral cipher.

1. *The Latin-text Cipher.* Professor Newbold supposed that Bacon incorporated some of his cipher messages in texts consisting of Latin words so chosen and arranged as to appear to the casual reader to be discussions of alchemy or some similar subject; that in reality, however, the upper or visible text existed only as a vehicle for the inner or secret text, each pair of visible letters representing a single letter of the invisible secret message.

¹ See, however, Newbold-Kent, p. 70 and p. 143 n. 7, where the occurrence of the shorthand signs in the Gunpowder Formula is asserted.

As the 22 letters of the Latin alphabet afford 484 pairs if each letter is taken with itself and with every other letter, it would obviously be possible to have 22 different pairs to represent each letter of the secret alphabet. That is, *a* might be represented by any one of 22 pairs that might be chosen for that purpose; *b* might be represented by any other 22 pairs that might be assigned to it; and so for each of the other letters. Such a cipher, if correctly used, could be easily and accurately read by any person who had a key or table giving the 484 pairs and their meanings. It would, however, be very clumsy, for it would require twice the normal number of letters. To avoid this objection, Bacon, according to Professor Newbold, adopted the plan of so choosing and arranging the pairs in the visible text that the first letter of each pair after the first is always the same as the last letter of the preceding pair. The repeated letters could then do double service and need be written only once: for example, if we wish to encipher the word *unius* and if we take *or* as representing *u*, we must choose a pair beginning with *r* — say *ri* — to represent *n*; and so on:

or - ri - it - tu - ur
U N I U S

Then omitting repeated letters, we should have *oritur*.

This effects a great reduction in the number of letters, but unfortunately it would not often happen that the pairs chosen on this principle would give good Latin in the visible text. In order to be able to produce a visible text that would not at once awaken the reader's suspicion that he was dealing with a cipher, Bacon — according to Professor Newbold — adopted four devices. In the first place, he pretended in his visible text to be discussing alchemy — a subject traditionally obscure, incoherent, and nonsensical. In the second place, while retaining in the visible text the 22 letters of the ordinary Latin alphabet, he reduced the number used in the secret inner text to 11 by treating certain letters as equivalent and interchangeable: 1) *b, f(ph), p*; 2) *c(k), g, q*; 3) *d, t*; 4) *i, y*; 5) *l, r*; 6) *o, u*; 7) *s, z*. The letter *h* was treated as silent and was to be supplied when needed. By this means, for example, the same letters in the visible exterior text might encipher any one of the following words of the secret message:

god, got, gut, cod, cud, cot, cut. Next, he allowed many pairs of letters in the plain text to have more than one cipher equivalent; for example, *af* (e.g., in the word *afflatus*) may represent any one of the following letters: *b, f, p, d, t, e, l, r, m, n*; *en* (e.g., in *denuo*) may represent any one of these: *c, g, t, d, e, m, n*. Finally, the letters of the hidden cipher words need not come in their normal and proper order but may be scattered in disorder. Professor Newbold asserted that letters that belonged together, though disarranged, were generally not scattered very widely; he wrote me once that Bacon seemed to operate with sections of 55 or 110 letters, that is, that the anagramming process came out even or nearly so at about such intervals.

To anyone who has ever played word-building games or worked anagrams it will at once be evident that out of so many as fifty-five letters — especially with the large liberty of equivalents permitted by this system — a considerable number of entirely different sentences can be constructed. The possibilities of anagramming are much greater than anyone without experience would readily believe. Walter Begley's *Biblia Anagrammatica* gives some very interesting facts about these possibilities. Even so short and simple a sentence as the Angelic Salutation, 'Ave Maria, gratia plena; Dominus tecum,' has afforded thousands of different anagrams, perfect in spelling, diction, and syntax. Using these thirty-one letters and only these, Frater Ambrosius produced 1500 hexameters and 1500 pentameters. Lucas de Vriese produced 3100 anagrams in prose, and in verse an acrostic poem in which the first letters of the anagrams spell out the salutation itself, and the first word of each verse echoes the last word of the preceding verse, thus:

A macula ter munda, ita per omnia viges.
V iges, enormi mulcta Adami pura enata.
E nata Malis pura vige, ac merito Munda.

M unda Mater emicas, o pura Geniti Aula.
A ula Dei micat, nota summe pura Regina.
R egina, o Tu pura macula, et Dia Immensa.
I mmensa, o Tu diva integre pura ac alma.
A lma ter unice pura Summa io Dei Gnata,' etc.

Even more remarkable perhaps are Pompeius Salvi's *Life of the Virgin* in 27 anagrams of the Salutation and Kovacic's *Dialogus Anagrammaticus ex Salutatione Angelica* in 100 verses.¹

In view of such facts as these, the production of intelligible words or sentences from a series of 50 or more letters is no guarantee that they represent any message intended by another person.

Still more is this true if the anagrammatist is not only allowed to rearrange the letters but also can at will choose from a considerable number of substitutes. How greatly this increases the possibilities may be seen by an example from Professor Newbold's decipherment of the Vatican MS (p. 151). In the upper line I give the basic clear text used by Professor Newbold; below each letter of this I place the whole list of cipher equivalents of the pair formed by the preceding letter and this. These equivalents are taken from his Table VI (pp. 210 ff.), where they are given in the reduced alphabet of 11 letters. I have therefore added the other values; that is, where the Table gives *d*, I give *d* and *t*; where it gives *u*, *p*, I give *u*, *o*, *b*, *f*, *p*.

I n c i p i u n t q u a e d a m c a r e t q u a e s t i o n e s

t e u e a c p s	t e r t t r	u c e i	t e r e p p a u a e
d o i c t e z	d u m d d m	o t r r	d u m i c t i s c i
m r d s	o l l	g l l	o l m b m y o e m
n g g b		d y	n f b z r n
y l q f		q	y g f n y
q e g			q d g
m q			l
n z		*	q
a			

B e r n a r d i c u m s u i s r e s p o n s i o n i b u s e t e s t

s t s r e t t	t s	c e i	e e p c u n r a u e r c p	i	e p
z i z m t d r	d z	g n y	r i b g s l i s m m b	r	i c
d s g m r u	q a	l m f q o	y o u u f	l	m b
y l d d l o	b e	n z	z o o c		n f
z q l n	f r	y	l g g		y g
	p g		q q		q
	l		i		
**	q	*	* y *		

¹ For the facts and examples cited, see Walter Begley, *Biblia Anagrammatica*, pp. 132-163.

By rearrangement of these letters Professor Newbold gets the title and first few words of a communication concerning the work of the celebrated mystic, Raymond Lull. These words are: "De Via ex Terra ad Coelos. Despicit mixta principia lume[n]."¹

One of the ablest cryptographers I know, Captain W. F. Friedman, of the War Department, at Washington, informs me that it is not difficult to get fictitious messages by the Newbold method. He writes: 'I offer the following as the result of about fifteen minutes' work upon the sequence of letters appearing on pp. 114-115 of the Kent volume:

Q S T P I E E Q Q R E U P Q T E I D P N E B E C T P I S E N

R	P	S	A	I	S	I	R	r	e	t	e	a	N	p	u	e	c	c	E	S	S	i	N	u	A	I	a	T
e	i	u	r	y	z	u	l	U	r	e	s	E	T	O	r	m	G	z	z	y	l	s	r	y	r	d		
i	n	o	c		s	l	L	i	p		m	v	m	u	k		o	r	o	c	L							
m	s	v	l		y	o	m	I		b	L	g	q			u	o	V	I	e								
n	b	z	g		o	v	n	n		f	k					V	u	z	g	g								
l	f	k		v		D	z		d		q					v	k	k										
y	y	q		z		y	b			O									q	q								
				z			f			v																		
							y																					

PARIS IS LURED INTO LOVING VESTALS . . . (continuation will be furnished upon request!)

Capitals indicate the letters taken. Note how the message almost comes out by its own locomotion! None in excess either!

The flexibility of this system needs no further illustration or comment. It is obvious that messages obtained by this system cannot be regarded as emanating from a thirteenth century scholar, attempting to convey his thoughts to others, but are merely the product of the subconscious activity of the decipherer.

2. *The Shorthand Cipher System.* The system applied to the *Voygnich MS*, though different, is very similar. Instead of beginning with a visible text of Latin, the decipherer must first transliterate certain 'microscopic shorthand signs' into an alphabet of 17 letters, and then, before assigning the equivalents of the biliteral groups, must subject each group that contains one or more of the letters of

¹ The final *n* is still lacking and the letters in the six columns marked with an asterisk have not yet been used.

the word *commuta* to a special process called 'commutation'.¹ Neither of these processes, however, alters the general characteristics of the system. The phonetic alphabet of 11 letters is still used, multiple equivalents are still assigned to the letters taken by two's, and the process of anagramming is still necessary to secure an intelligible decipherment.

In considering this second system, the first new question that arises concerns the objective existence of the 'microscopic shorthand signs.' Professor Newbold contended that the strokes forming the obvious symbols of the Voynich cipher MS were not produced by ordinary strokes of a pen but were carefully built up of a multitude of tiny strokes² which could be discerned (as they had been written) only with the aid of a microscope. These microscopic strokes, he declared, were shorthand symbols for individual letters, derived from or suggested by one of the ancient Greek systems of shorthand.

To me, the scattered patches of 'shorthand signs' with which Professor Newbold operated seem merely the result of the action of time on the ink of the written characters. The vellum of the MS has a very rough surface, and the ink used was not a stain but a rather thick pigment. As the pigment dried out, the variations in sedimentary deposit and the cracking produced the phenomena which Professor Newbold has taken to be microscopic elements in the strokes. This view of the matter is shared by such experts in palaeography as Professors Beeson and Ullman of Chicago, Professor Fritz Saxl of Vienna, Mr Robert Steele of London, and Sir Frederic Kenyon and Mr Eric Millar of the British Museum.

Professor Newbold himself said (pp. 102 f.): 'But the difficulty of reading the cipher characters is very great indeed. When first the letters were written they were, I think, distinctly visible under the proper degree of magnification, but after the lapse of more than six hundred years the writing on many pages has been so injured by fading, scaling, and abrasion, that the characters can scarcely be

¹Professor Newbold did not explain the process of commutation in encipherment. If he had attempted to do so, I think he would have found it difficult to perform; see Professor Kent's note 3 on page 100.

²In the letter *b* analyzed on p. 117, there are 18 strokes; in the last *x* on p. 119, 24; in the *h* on p. 120, there are 30.

seen at all. In the second place, much depends upon the degree of magnification which was used by Bacon at the time of writing. The line which to the naked eye seems quite simple, when magnified three or four or five diameters is frequently seen to be composed of individual elements, and if it be magnified still further some of the elements will be resolved into still other elements, many of which may be taken as characters . . . Another very great difficulty is that offered by the elusiveness of the characters themselves. The differences between them are very slight; when they are written under a microscope, even Bacon's own hand often gives to the differences but faint and ambiguous expression. Furthermore the characters are so interwoven one with another that it is often all but impossible to disentangle them . . . I frequently, for example, find it impossible to read the same text twice in exactly the same way.'

The correct conclusion undoubtedly is that the 'microscopic shorthand signs' have, as such, no objective existence, but are the creatures of Professor Newbold's imagination. As a matter of fact, the visible cipher characters could not have been built up as Newbold supposed they were. If the microscopic signs were kept separate enough to be recognizable, the strokes into which they were incorporated would not have had the appearance of simple pen strokes. If the microscopic signs had been placed close enough together to simulate simple pen strokes, the ink would have run and the signs would have become unidentifiable. Even Professor Newbold could hardly claim that microscopic characters can be discerned in all the strokes forming the grouped cipher letters of the Voynich MS. The vast majority of the strokes were obviously and certainly not built up, but written freehand.

Professor Newbold suggested that this form of cipher was devised by Bacon 'to diminish the difficulty of writing and reading.' 'The only restrictions [upon the encipherer in this method] are those imposed by the shape of the spurious letters into which the tiny characters are introduced as components' (pp. 96, 100). If Bacon had in fact wished to write a secret document in such microscopic signs, it is difficult to see why he could not have done so with equal security and with greater certainty of being accurately read by the person or

persons for whom the cipher was intended. It is very unlikely that anyone in the Middle Ages was expert enough to solve a biliteral cipher (even one with single and definite values for each pair) if written in shorthand signs, whether microscopic or not. And a careful study of the analyses of strokes given by Professor Newbold in Plates XVIIA-XIXB shows that the signs representing the letters of a word could always have been arranged in their normal order. As a matter of fact, the symbols of the microscopic cipher are considerably disarranged, even when not so widely scattered as in the other system; cf. the analyses on pp. 114 ff. and 129 ff.

Of the chapter (ix) on the Interpretation of the Key, I will remark only that it exhibits strange inconsistencies, unexplained omissions, and arbitrary assumptions, and that the confused and incoherent Latin text derived from the so-called 'key page' does not encourage a belief that the person who composed it had a clear idea of what he was saying.¹

Even the reader who has had little experience with ciphers will probably have begun to see — as all cipher experts to whom the system has been expounded saw immediately — that the Newbold system, whether in its Latin-text form or in the modified form of the microscopic shorthand system, is so vitiated by its flexibility and ambiguity that no confidence can be given to messages deciphered by it. What the decipherer gets is not a message enciphered by a thirteenth-century scholar but the product of the subconsciousness of a twentieth-century scholar. A good cipher authenticates itself by its mode of operation, it does not need to be proved by the revelation of verifiable facts unknown to the decipherer; Professor Newbold

¹ Not even the skilful paraphrase on pp. 112 ff. can disguise the fact that the author of the passage derived from the key page confused three distinctly different processes: (1) the decipherment of the key ('The Sentence is to be set over against the individual letters'); (2) the construction of the 484 pairs (which cannot be done by joining the letters of the Sentence and the letters of the alphabet, as is next stated); (3) the method of composing the biliteral symbols into the visible text ('When every biliteral group has been set down overlappingly, let every second letter be omitted unless it is final; let such final letter be kept'). That the author of the sentence last quoted was not thinking clearly is proved by the immediately following sentence: 'When those letters have been deleted, the 484 biliteral groups will be reduced to half.' But the whole passage is a jumble of obscurely expressed ideas, and does not describe the construction and use of the biliteral alphabets, as it is presumed to do.

recognized that his system was so flexible and ambiguous that it required authentication. He said of the *De Accidentibus Senectutis*: 'I applied the alphabet to it and found that it read off very easily. This, however does not prove it to be in cipher: for that one needs a series of unknown but verifiable facts.'

Before testing the statements of fact obtained by Professor Newbold's decipherments, it is necessary to discuss certain important matters concerning the application of his system to particular texts.

II. CRITICISM OF THE APPLICATION OF THE CIPHER SYSTEM TO PARTICULAR TEXTS

1. *Decipherments Obtained from Texts Not Written by Roger Bacon.*

a) The Gunpowder Formula.

The briefest and simplest case of a decipherment obtained from a text not written by Roger Bacon is furnished by the famous Gunpowder Formula (Ch. xv). Here, in a letter attributed to Bacon, occurs, according to Brewer's reprint from the printed text of 1542, the famous: 'Sed tamen sal petrae LURU VOPO VIR CAN UTRIET sulphuris; et sic facies tonitruum et coruscationem, si scias artificium.'¹ I shall not now insist upon the probability that the last three chapters of this epistle are not the work of Bacon, or upon the fact that without any warrant Professor Newbold took a well-known symbol for *Sed* as *Sume*. The important fact is that the letters LURU VOPO VIR CAN UTRIET are not found in any extant MS., but are apparently due to a misreading of the distorted Greek letters occurring at this point in the MS. from which the 1542 edition was printed.² Yet applying his system to this misreading, which originated more than three centuries after the death of Bacon, Professor Newbold got a thoroughly satisfactory decipherment.

b) The *Verbum Abbreviatum* of Reymundus Gaufridus.

A more extensive example of the same procedure is furnished by

¹ Brewer, *Opera Hactenus Inedita*, App. 1, p. 551.

² See Robert Steele's note in *Nature*, cxxi (Feb. 11, 1928); p. 208. The suggestion (Newbold-Kent, p. 69) that the 1542 text was edited by Dr John Dee does not take account of the fact that Dee was then only 15 years old, and that the editor is stated on the title page to have been 'Orontius F. Delph. Regius Mathematicus,' i.e., Oronce Fine.

the decipherment of the opening words of the *Verbum Abbreviatum de Viride Leone*. Let us turn to p. 187 for the Latin text deciphered on p. 190. The first twelve lines — the basis for nearly 500 letters at the beginning of the decipherment — are stated in the lines themselves to be the work, not of Roger Bacon, but of Friar Reymundus Gaufridus: 'Incipit *Verbum Abbreviatum* fratris Reymundi Gaufridi . . . Istud vero *Verbum Abbreviatum*, multis non immerito desideratum, ab egregio doctore nostro Rogero Bacone est primo declaratum: deinde ego frater Reymundus Gaufridus ordinis fratrum minorum minister generalis, ipsum verbum brevius quam potui breviter explanare filiis philosophiae curavi.' These sentences surely ought not to yield a Baconian message. Or does anyone contend either that Raymund wrote them under the instruction of Bacon or that Bacon himself wrote them as a hoax?

2. *Decipherment from a Text Written Years before the Date of the Cipher Message.*

Less obvious, but perhaps equally interesting, is the situation in the *Epistola de Accidentibus Senectutis*, from which Professor Newbold read directions purporting to have been sent to Pope Clement IV after January 1267 for the treatment of stone, and the famous recipe for procuring metallic copper. This document was edited in 1928 by Messrs A. G. Little and E. Withington¹ from twelve MSS, including the Paris MS discovered by Mr. Robert Steele, which was the basis of Professor Newbold's decipherments in Chapters xvii and xviii. The Paris MS purports to be addressed to Pope Innocent IV (1243-54): 'Incipit epistola de accidentibus senectutis missa ad Innocentium quartum quondam summum pontificem.' Certainly the name of Innocent is here no careless blunder for that of another pope, for he is clearly indicated in the first line of the proem: 'Domine mundi qui ex nobili bina² stirpe originem assumpsistis.' The *Epis-*

¹ *Opera Haecenus Inedita Rogeri Baconi*, fasc. ix [British Soc. of Franciscan Studies].

² Dr Little, p. xxiv, says, 'The statement in the colophon that the pope was Innocent IV is probably correct,' and explains that 'ex nobili bina stirpe' — if the reading 'bina' is correct — would apply to him, as both his father and his mother belonged to noble Genoese families. That the reading 'bina' is correct seems to be proved by the evidence Dr Little cites. *Vat. Pal. lat. 409* reads 'bona' and *Vat. Pal. lat. 1180* apparently 'una'; but surely no one would be apt to write 'ex nobili bona stirpe,' nor if so written, would 'bona' be changed to 'bina' whereas if 'bina' were the original reading, 'bona' and 'una' would be easy variants.

tola, therefore, seems to have been written by Bacon at least twelve years before the date to which Newbold assigned it. At any rate, as Dr Little¹ pointed out long ago, Bacon referred to it in 1267² as already published and 'it bears internal evidence of having been an early work; for it was written at a time when the author did not know Greek.' It therefore cannot contain a cipher message addressed to Pope Clement IV in the last months of his life.

Why Professor Newbold suspected the *Epistola* of containing cipher is very puzzling. The reason he himself assigned seems eminently unsatisfactory. He said: 'I had read the first few chapters and had found it difficult to believe that Bacon could have written such clumsy and confused Latin, for his natural style is exceptionally clear. But if it were cipher-Latin, all would be explained' (p. 176). Such a judgment on the style of the text from which Professor Newbold deciphered his Oxford Story (see below) would be intelligible, but it would not be true of this *Epistola*. Doubtless the latinity of Bacon would often have made Quintilian stare and gasp, but this particular bit of it is, to a modern reader, singularly simple, clear, and straightforward in style, and there is no reason to think that it is anything but what it professes to be — a treatise on the causes that produce old age and the means of preventing or retarding it. Five minutes or five hours spent with the text will equally confirm this judgment on the style.

3. Different Decipherments of the Same Text.

Another reason for rejecting Professor Newbold's system is that in at least one instance he got three different decipherments from the same basic text.

Chapter XIV is devoted to what is called the Oxford Story, an account of a supposed conflict in the last days of March, 1273, between 'knights' said to be studying at Oxford and 'monks' under the leadership of Bacon. At present we are not concerned with the date or authorship of the text from which this story was deciphered (Ch. x of the *De Secretis Operibus Naturae*) or with the relations of the

¹ *Roger Bacon's Essays* (1914) p. 4.

² *Opus Majus*, ed. Bridges, II, 209.

story to historical evidence, but only with the startling and decisive fact that from the same text Professor Newbold made at least three decipherments differing from one another sufficiently to prove that even if Bacon had composed a cipher message by this system no one could be sure of obtaining the message as originally intended.

On p. 139, Professor Kent printed what is probably Professor Newbold's final version of the decipherment. For the sake of clearness, he displayed the decipherment in sections of approximately 40 letters, prefixing at the beginning of each section an exact indication of the letters involved in it. For ease of comparison, I will print along with a few of these sections the variant readings of an earlier decipherment which lies before me in Professor Newbold's own handwriting:

A (The later version) 1-42 Quarto Martii . . .

B (The earlier version) 1-43 Quinto Kal. Mart. . . .

A 479-522 potestate militum. Nunc Oxoniae studebant milites;

B 475-519 potentia dominorum. Extant Oxoniae milites; et fine

A 523-554 ii armant se adversus ecclesiasticos.

B 520-550 aestatis murmurant ecclesiasticos.

A 555-599 Transportant milites Oxoniae succursus militares

B 550-596 Stetit si quis transportet rem militarem sedulissime

A 600-625 occulte. Idem fit deinde monachis

B 595-626 occultet. Monachi tremescunt vulvas

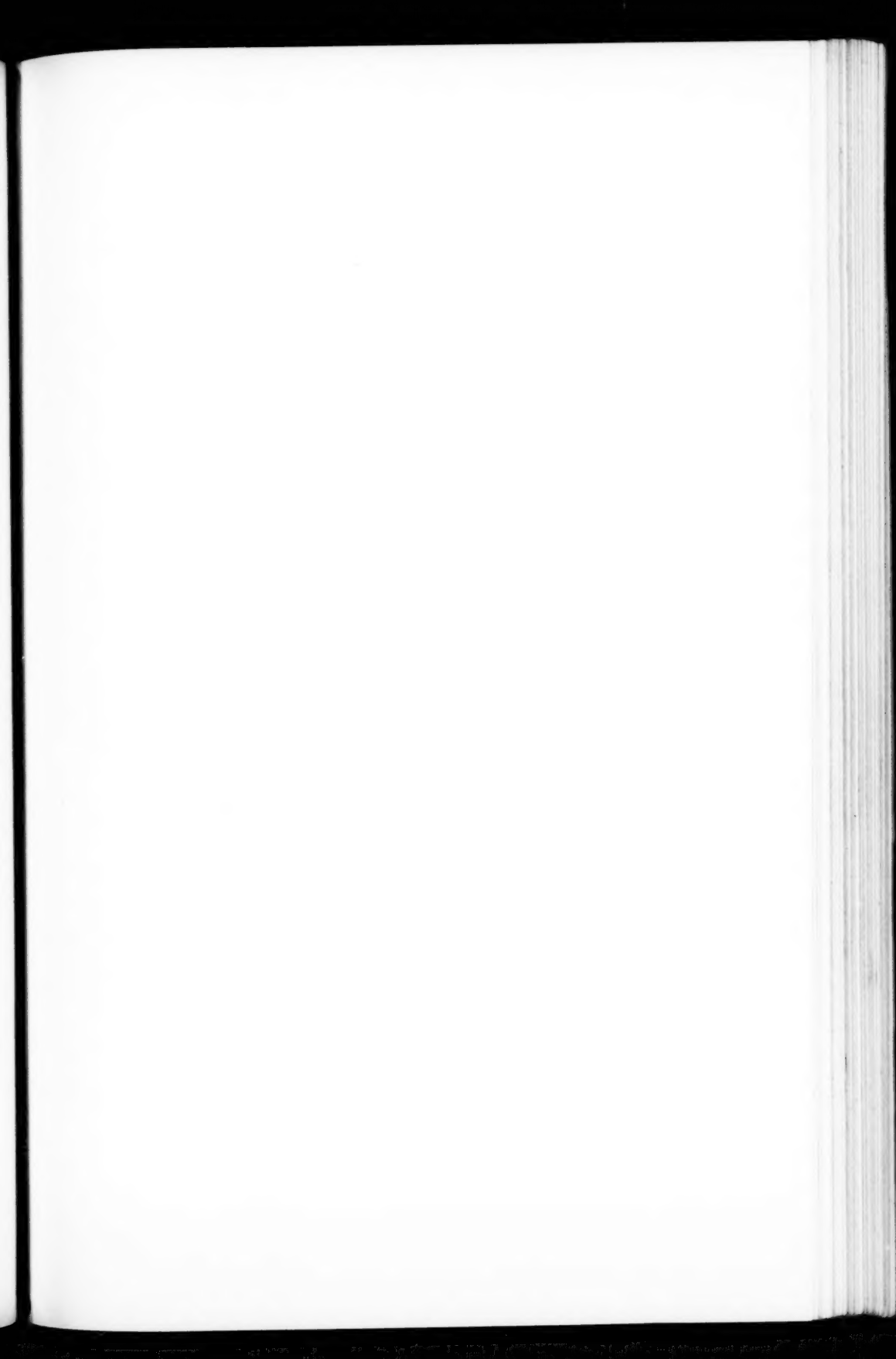
A still earlier decipherment by Professor Newbold of this same passage differs from both of the later ones, and differs even more than they do from one another. It may seem to some readers that this means merely that Professor Newbold was approaching nearer and nearer to the correct reading, that is, to the message enciphered by Bacon, but such a view would entirely miss the point with regard to the whole system, which is this: that no system of cipher can be valid or have the slightest claim to recognition if it permits such widely divergent readings as these. The fact that all three of these decipherments report a conflict between knights and monks at Oxford does not redeem the system. All that it means is

that Professor Newbold still continued to believe that the passage contained an account of such a conflict. Inquiry into the historical accuracy of this account is reserved for discussion below (pp. 29–34.).






















4. *Decipherment Based on Faulty Transcription.* But if a cipher system which affords more than one reading of the same basic text cannot have any validity, what shall we say of a system that obtains a satisfactory decipherment from a text so wrongly transliterated that it contains many letters that do not belong to the text as composed by the original writer but are the mere product of errors on the part of the decipherer? But this is precisely the situation with regard to the highly acclaimed Vatican Document.

The Vatican Document is a passage inserted in the Vatican Latin manuscript *No. 3102*, in blank spaces at the end of a copy of Bacon's *De Perspectiva*. It occupies 35 lines and is written in highly abbreviated Latin, in which are interspersed groups of characters which Professor Newbold regarded as 'meaningless letter groups' but which a little study reveals as Latin words enciphered by a very common and easy method. On the face of it, the document purports to record certain alchemical questions, addressed to a person designated as *Beatus Bernardus*, and his replies. Who this *Beatus Bernardus* was I cannot say, but the name *Bernardus* is not unfamiliar in the history of alchemy¹; and there was, no doubt, a confusion with *Bernard of Clairvaux* — *Beatus Bernardus* or *Bernardus Magnus*. At any rate, the presence of the piece in a manuscript containing Bacon's *De Perspectiva* is no reason for assigning it to Bacon. It is written in a different hand from that of the *De Perspectiva*, which

¹ Besides the well-known *Bernardus Trevisanus* Dorothea Singer, *Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Alchemical Manuscripts in the Libraries of Great Britain*, 1, 292), there were *Bernard de Gordon* (*ibid.*, 1, 261), and *Bernardus*, a monk of *Bermondsey*, said to be author of directions for making the Elixir (cf. MS. *Sloane 3644* [3]); a *Tractatus quale fit Athanor, id est furnus philosophicus*, ascribed to *Bernardus*, occurs in MS *Sloane 976*, ff. 81–82 (Singer, 1, 294); the *Liber Trium Verborum Hermetis*, commonly ascribed to *Khalid* (Zetzner, v, 186–90) appears in *Sloane 323* and *Trin. Coll. Camb. MS 1120* with the heading, 'Hic incipit opus et practica *Bernhardi magni alkimiste in album*' (Singer, 1, 47); and other alchemical treatises are in *Corpus Christi Coll.*, MS 136 and the Bodleian *Ashmole 1450*, ascribed respectively to *Barnardus* and *Bernardus Magnus*. The practice of fathering alchemical treatises on such famous men as *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *King Arthur*, *Pope Boniface*, *St Thomas Aquinas*, not to mention *Ramon Lull* and others, is too well known to require illustration.



Symbols Supposed By Professor Newbold To Represent Complete Words:

I		I ^g		VI	
I ^a		I ^h		VI ^a	
I ^b		II		VI ^b	
I ^c		II ^a		VII	
I ^d		III		VIII	
I ^e		IV		VIII ^a	
I ^f		V		IX	

Cipher Letter Symbols:

2 3 4

precedes it, or that of the note on Averroes, which follows it, and was copied into the vacant spaces left after these two pieces were copied. The Bernardus piece was obviously composed after Bacon's death, for the replies make use of the alchemical symbols which first appeared in the pseudo-Lullian *Testamentum*.¹

To anyone familiar with simple ciphers and with alchemical jargon the Vatican document will not appear more mysterious or unintelligible than scores of other writings on alchemy, but Professor Newbold maintained that it stood in a class by itself and was so suspicious in appearance as to warrant the assumption that it was one of Bacon's hoaxes, concealing a message enciphered by the biliteral method. He undertook to read it and obtained results for which important claims have been made. His transcription and decipherment are given in great detail in Chapter XVI (pp. 144-175).

Unfortunately his transcription, which forms the basis of his decipherment, is incorrect to a degree that demonstrates unmistakably the subjective character of his deciphering. The correct transcription, with a decipherment of the real cipher groups, will be given as soon as I have discussed certain peculiar symbols contained in the MS and explained the cipher alphabet used in writing the cipher groups. The MS contains seven characters which undoubtedly are symbols for alchemical substances, utensils, or processes. In Plate III I have displayed these seven symbols together with certain others discussed in connection with them. The exact size, form, and use of the symbols can be seen in the reproduction of the Vatican Document in Plates II and III.²

¹ For the alchemical treatises falsely ascribed to Lull, see Singer, *op. cit.*, I, 221-259 and of course Ferguson, *Bibl. Chem.*, with the discussions in *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXIX, 271-289, and Peers, *Ramon Lull*, pp. 405-407. They must all be later than Lull's death (1315). The *alphabetum practicum* of the alchemical treatises was of course suggested by Lull's use of the alphabet in his treatises on reasoning; cf. below, p. 369, n. 2.

² For the convenience of the reader I give references to the lines of the Vatican text in Plates II and III in which each of the symbols discussed below occur.

- I. 2, 8, 10, 13, 14, 33.
- II. 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 15, 18, 30.
- III. 4.
- IV. 33.
- V. 8, 13, 15, 34.
- VI. 31, 33.

1. Professor Newbold regarded Symbol 1 as the alchemical symbol for *arsenicum* written backwards, and he accordingly took the letters of this word in reverse order — mucinesra — for his cipher. For the original form of the symbol he referred to Berthelot, *Introduction à l'Etude de la Chimie des Anciens et du Moyen Age* (1889), p. 108. But the symbol given there (No. 16) shows no circle at the apex of the angle;¹ see form I^a in my Plate 1. The particular form shown in the Vatican Document (form 1) I have been unable to find either in the extensive list given by G. W. Gessmann, *Die Geheimsymbole der Alchymie*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1922, or in any of the lists of symbols which I have examined in MSS at the British Museum and the Bodleian. Form 1^b — the form Professor Newbold had in mind as being reversed — appears in Gessmann (Tafel xxxxiij), but as designating, not 'arsenic,' but 'orpiment.' Several symbols similar to this occur both in Gessmann and in the MSS with various meanings. For example, the symbol that I designate as 1^r appears in Tafel iv as 'red sulphuret of arsenic'; 1^d in Tafel vi as 'sal alcali' and in Tafel xxxv as 'aqua vitae'; 1^e in Tafel xxxxiij as 'distilled oil'; 1^f in Tafel xxxxiij as 'boiled oil'; 1^g in Tafel xxxxiij as 'oil'; 1^h in Tafel vi as 'olive oil,' in Tafel xxix as 'lapis silex,' and in Tafel xxxvi as 'aqua vitae.' MS. *Sloane 496* lists both 1^f (fol. 23^v) and 1^g (fol. 43^v) as meaning 'oil,' 1^e (fol. 45^r) as 'exiccatio,' and 1^h (fol. 46^r) as 'dephlegmatio.' MS *Sloane 830* (fol. 179^r) gives 1^g as 'sulphur.' MS *Sloane 2792* gives 1^d and 1^g as 'aqua vitae' (fol. 9) and 1^e as 'oil of any kind'; 1^f as 'spiritus vini.' It is obvious that, although there is considerable doubt as to the meaning of the symbol in the Vatican

vii. 31, 33.

viii. 15 (last word).

ix. 16 (second word).

2=c 17, 24, 32, 34(2).

3=d 15, 17, 24, 31, 32.

4=r 11(2), 12, 16, 17, 18, 21(2), 25(4), 26, 30(3), 32, 34(3).

As remarked on p. 24, the scribe sometimes confused the cipher symbols for *d* and *r* with one another and with the letter *z* (the cipher symbol for 1), but the Latin words are easily recognizable where such confusion occurs.

¹That it should have none is confirmed by the forms in Berthelot's Plate v (p. 114) lines 7 and 19.

MS, there is no justification for Professor Newbold's assumption that it represents 'arsenicum' spelled backwards.

2. Symbol II also I have not met with elsewhere. Professor Newbold called it 'paragaphus' and referred to A. Cappelli, *Dizionario di Abbreviature*, ed. 2. (1912), p. 412, as authority. But none of the paragraph symbols given there bears any close resemblance to the Vatican symbol. The nearest is perhaps that shown in my Plate III as II^a.

3. Symbol III also occurs nowhere else, so far as I am aware. Professor Newbold represented it by 'tria-puncta-et-duo-quadrantes.'

4. Symbols IV and V Professor Newbold rightly regarded as different symbols, but he was mistaken, I think, in the meanings he assigned to them ('sol-oriens' and 'sol-occidens'), and also in ascribing three occurrences to each. In my opinion IV occurs only once (l. 33;) in the other five instances the symbol is V (ll. 8, 13, 15, 34, 35). Gessmann (Tafel xx) gives a sign very similar to IV, with the meaning 'sol, gold,' as in l. 33. Symbol V seems to represent 'ignis, fire,' as that meaning suits the context in all five of its occurrences.

5. Symbol VI Professor Newbold called 'asteriscus' and represented by the letters of that word both times that it occurs. His authority is Cappelli, *op. cit.*, p. 412. But the symbol (VI^a) given by Cappelli is less like that in the Vatican MS. than is VI^b, an alchemical symbol given by Gessmann (Tafel xv) for 'acetum distillatum.' The context suggests, however, that it means 'alumen.'

6. For Symbol VII, which occurs twice, Professor Newbold substituted the word 'spiculum,' but it seems rather to be the well-known symbol for the planet Mars and the metal iron.

Two other signs occur in cipher groups which Professor Newbold interpreted as representing whole words. The first of these he regarded as the Latin word 'atterit,' written with three Tironian signs. He drew it as shown in Plate I as No. VIII. In my opinion, this character, which occurs only once — as the first letter of the cipher word for 'distillat' (last word, l. 15) — is merely a badly made example of the cipher symbol for the letter *d* (cf. VIII^a). The second symbol, shown in Plate I as IX^a, also occurs only once. For reasons

unknown to me, Professor Newbold regarded it as representing the word 'ymnus'; but it is clearly only the letter *y* (underdotted for deletion) with the letter *s* written above it. The Latin word in which it occurs is 'aquam,' which ought to have been enciphered *c q s c m*, but instead of the *s* the scribe first wrote *y*, the cipher symbol for *s*, and afterwards corrected it (l. 16, 2nd word).

Among the symbols which occur in cipher groups — 'meaningless letter groups' he called them — Professor Newbold recognized one as the Hebrew letter *beth* and five as the Tironian symbols for the syllables *la, li, ri, te, ti*. The symbol that he called 'beth' occurs frequently, and constantly has the value of *c* in the cipher text; but the five supposed Tironian symbols, in my opinion, reduce to two — one (discussed in the preceding paragraph) representing the letter *d*, and the other the letter *r*. The signs for *d* and *r* are much alike and when carelessly made are confused with one another and with *z*, but no one familiar with cipher will be misled or disturbed by the confusion.

The cipher alphabet, fortunately, is very simple. First the five vowels are discarded and replaced by the letters *c, d, l, r, s*. Then *l* and *s* are replaced by *z* and *y*, respectively, and *c, d, r* by three symbols — which may indeed be the Hebrew letter *beth* and the Tironian signs for *ri* and *ti* — shown in Plate I as Nos. 2, 3, and 4.¹ The other letters of the alphabet, so far as they occur, retain their normal values. The alphabet, then, is as follows:

(1) For enciphering

Clear: a b c d e f g i l m n o p q r s t u

Cipher: c b 2 3 d f g l z m n r p q 4 y t s

(2) For deciphering

Cipher: b c d f g l m n p q r s t y z 2 3 4

Clear: b a e f g i m n p q o u t s l c d r

The cipher equivalents for the letters *h, x, y*, and *z* do not happen to be in our text.

¹ For typographical reasons I shall use these Arabic numerals in the transliterated text instead of the cipher symbols representing *c, d*, and *r*.

After this long preliminary explanation, which unfortunately seemed necessary to prepare the reader for an understanding of the cipher groups and consequently of the text as a whole, I will proceed to the decipherment of the cipher groups, taking them up in the order in which they occur and giving first the cipher group as it stands in the MS. and then its decipherment by means of the deciphering alphabet just given:

1) g c z l n d; cf. No. 31 below
g a l i n e

2) g c z l; cf. 30
g a l i

3) The same as 1. In all three of these words, Professor Newbold read the second letter as *t*. It is clearly a *c*, and the Latin words are easily recognizable, although spelled here with only one *l*; cf. the spelling of *ebulit* in the clear text in Question 4.

4) c p d 4 t s 4 c
a p e r t u r a

5) f r 4 c m d n
f o r a m e n

Newbold mistook the final *n* for *ii*.

6) 3 l y t l z z c t; cf. 36
d i s t i l l a t

The character which I designate by 3, representing the letter *d*, Professor Newbold read as the Tironian signs for *atterit*. It was carelessly written. The third letter he read as *p* instead of *y*.

7) c q s c m; cf. 17, 34 and 39.
a q u a m

This is the word in which the scribal error of *y* corrected to *s* was read by Professor Newbold as *ymnus*. See p. 20 and Plate III, No. IX.

8) y d 4 d n l y l m c m; cf. 39
s e r e n i s i m a m

The sixth letter Professor Newbold read as *b* instead of *l* and the eighth and ninth as *hn* instead of *lm*.

9) s l t d z z s m; cf. 13
u i t e l l u m

- 10) 4 s b l 2 s n 3 l y y l m s m
r u b i c u n d i s s i m u m
- 11) p 4 d g n c n y
p r e g n a n s
- 12) c z b s g r
a l b u g o
- 13) The same as 9. For the third letter, *t*, Professor Newbold read *c*.
- 14) c 4 b r 4 l y; cf. 31
a r b o r i s
- 15) g c z l n c; cf. 13 and 31
g a l i n a
The second and last letters Professor Newbold read as *t* instead of *c*.
- 16) r s s m; cf. 19
o u u m
- 17) c q s c; cf. 7, 34, and 39
a q u a
- 18) s l t d
u i t e
- 19) The same as 16.
- 20) p s z z l f l 2 c n 3 s m
p u l l i f i c a n d u m
The third letter from the end Professor Newbold read as *z*.
- 21) g d n b 4 c t s 4
g e n e r a t u r
- 22) p s z z s y
p u l l u s
- 23) c z b s y
a l b u s
- 24) The same as 21.
- 25) The same as 22.
- 26) 4 s b d s y
r u b e u s
- 27) c n l m c t l r
a n i m a t i o
After the second *l* the scribe wrote an *i* by mistake and canceled it by putting a dot under it.

28) b c z n d r

b a l n e o

29) y d m l n d

s e m i n e

30) g c z z l; cf. 2

g a l l i

31) g c z z l n c; cf. 1, 3, and 15

g a l l i n a

32) c 4 b r 4; cf. 14

a r b o r

The second and last letters Professor Newbold read as the Tironian symbol for *ri*.

33) l s n l p d 4 s y

i u n i p e r u s

34) c q s c; cf. 17 and 39

a q u a

The letter *c* was twice read as *t* by Professor Newbold.

35) g z c l d l

g l a i e i

It is obvious that the cipher for the letter *c* has been carelessly omitted at the middle of the word. The reason for this omission is probably that the cipher letter *c* had just occurred. The Latin word is obviously *glaciei*.

36) 3 l y t l z z c t r; cf. 6

d i s t i l l a t o

The first symbol Professor Newbold read as *z*.

37) c z z d m b l 2 s m

a l l e m b i c u m

38) 3 l d y

d i e s

39) c q s c + y d 4 d n l y y

a q u a + s e r e n i s s

Clearly the scribe forgot to encipher the ending *ima*.

40) 2 c 4 b r n s m

c a r b o n u m

41) 2 l n d 4 l b s y

c i n e r i b u s

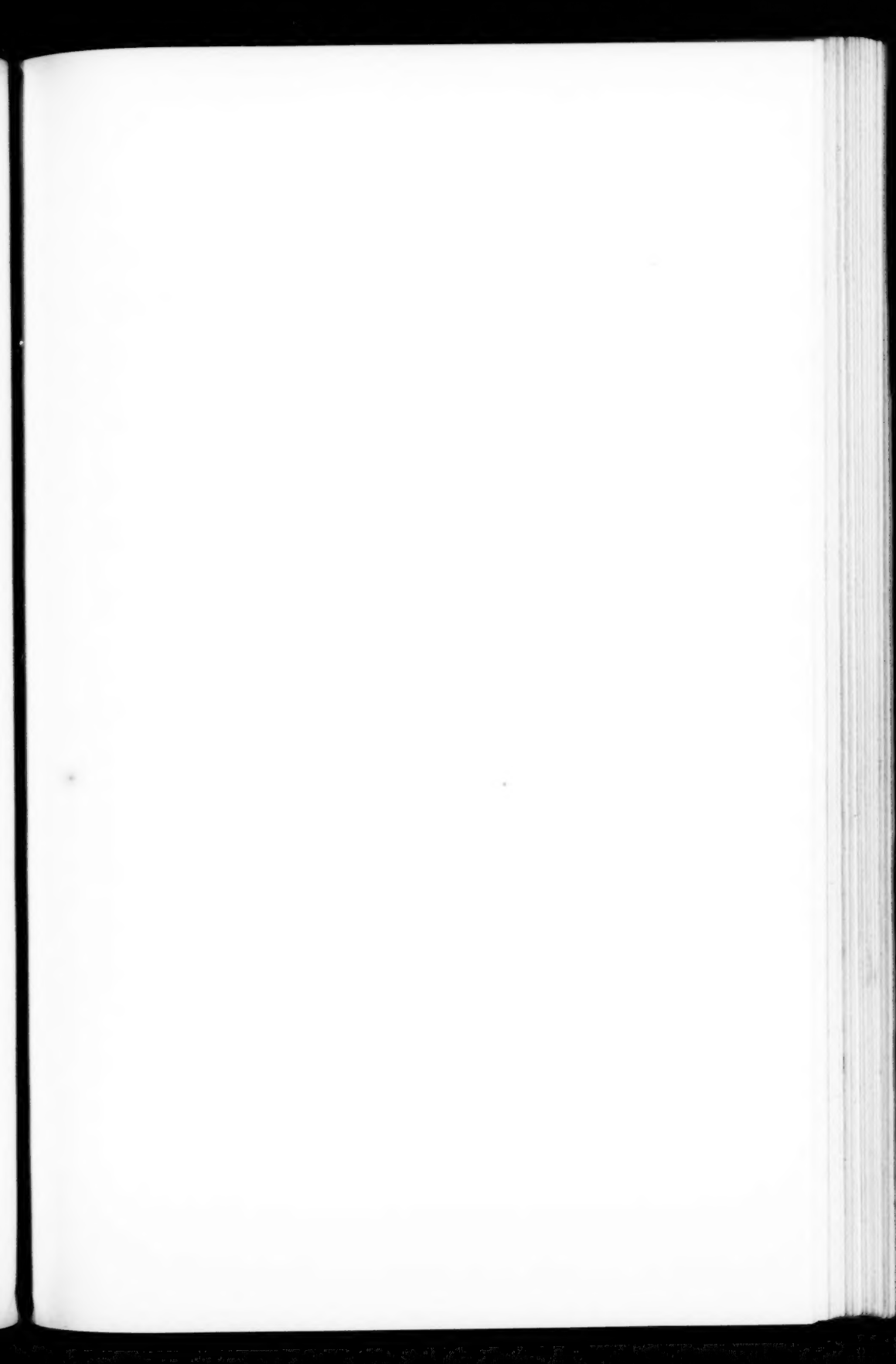
42) l s n l p d 4 l; cf. 33

i u n i p e r i

The penultimate symbol Professor Newbold read as Tironian *li*.

A peculiar feature of Professor Newbold's transcription is his treatment of what look like ordinary scribal errors and corrections. In the first sentence, for example, the word *questiones* is written above the line with a mark in the line to show where it belongs; Professor Newbold transcribed 'caret quaestiones' and treats the word *caret* as an integral part of the basic text from which he derived his decipherment. Later the omission of the words *in* (see below p. 369, l. 25) and *in quo* (p. 369, l. 16) and of the letter *l* (= *i*) in the enciphered word *rubicundissimum*, corrected in the same way by the scribe, gave Professor Newbold excuse for inserting *caret*, *caerent*, and *caerit* in his text. Five letters written by mistake and underdotted for deletion (Question 12, Question 10, and Reply 1) provided him with *expunctis*, *expunctiscaerent* and *expuncto*. By his procedure Professor Newbold assumed that the errors were made intentionally, for the express purpose of introducing into the basic cipher text the words: *caerit*, *caerent*, *expunctis*, *expuncto*. As not even he claimed that the Vatican manuscript was written by Bacon himself or under his direct supervision, he was obliged to assume that the fourteenth century scribe who did write the manuscript had received instructions to commit exactly these errors of transcription and correct them precisely as he did. To me at least this seems incredible: but if it is not true, the 59 letters involved must be added to the number of those for which Bacon cannot in any event be held responsible.

The following is a correct transcription of the Vatican MS. It will be observed that the cipher groups which Professor Newbold called 'groups of meaningless symbols' are readily translated into Latin words easily recognizable in spite of some carelessnesses in spelling, and that these words fit admirably into the context both in syntax and in meaning. For purposes of identification I have printed these deciphered groups in italics; details of the decipherment will be found in the list on pages 365-367. For typographical reasons I have substituted tentatively for the alchemical symbols their probable meanings, but it is easily possible that some expert in alchemy can suggest more appropriate meanings for some of them. I have placed all of them between square brackets, for purposes of identification.



Vatican Lat. 3102 fol. 27^r

Incipiunt quedam questiones Bernardi cum suis responsionibus, et est prima Utrum [ouum philosophicum] indigeat differentibus [uasibus] tam in materia quam in forma¹ a principio sue generationis usque in finem. 2^a questio. Cuius sint [uasa] in materia et in forma, in quibus semen [galli] conseruatur et cuius etiam sint [uasa] in quibus semen *galine* recipit *gali*. 3^a. Cuius forme sit testa oui concepti per mixtionem utriusque in tribus primis acubitibus *galine* super ouum. 4^a. Cuius materie et forme sit [uas] [oui philosophici] quando ad [ignem] positum ebullit et quod inde exit reponitur in [uase] iterum atque iterum, [ouo philosophico] non amoto ab igne. 5^a. Que et qualis sit testa oui quando sic obturatur quod non est *apertura* nisi paruum *foramen*, quod aliquando aperitur ut aliquod fumosum aquosum exeat inde et ne [ouum philosophicum] frangatur propter [ignem], quia uidetur testa esse transparentis; quamdiu etiam debeat [ouum philosophicum] sic aut in tali [igne] conseruari. 6^a. Cuius materie aut forme sit [uas] quando *distillat aquam serenissimam* et postea *uitellum* ponit *rubicundissimum*. 7^a. Cuius materie aut forme sit [uas] pregnans in quo continentur tam *albugo* quam *uitellum* usque ad complementum fomentationis oui. 8^a. Quando uel in quo gradu oportet uti cineribus *arboris* spinose ad fomentandum ouum. 9^a. Quando aut in quo gradu *galina* in stabulo equorum fouet *ouum*. 10^a. Unde fit *aqua uite* in qua ponitur *ouum* *pullificandum* de propositione. 11^a. Quando *generatur pullus albus*. 12^a. Quando *generatur pullus rubeus*. Ad istas questiones respondet beatus Bernardus et cetera ad tale signum sequens.

fol. 27^v

Prime questioni dicit quod a b c². B tamen non est necessarium nisi sit *animatio* facta in *balneo*; 2^a, quod a pro *semine galli*, c uero pro *galina*.

¹ The reader should bear in mind that *materia* and *forma* are here used, not in their common modern senses, but as technical terms of mediaeval science. *Forma* is the spirit or shaping principle or force which causes the substratum *materia* to possess its characteristic properties. A late alchemist says: 'Forma autem rerum est virtus generativa, qua sibi simile quodque producere potest, ut hominis forma latet in homine, et non in alio, arboris in arbore nec non in metallo metalli' (*Gerardi Dornei Philosophia Chemica*, ap. Zetzner, *Theatrum Chem.*, 1, 454). Gaston Dulco distinguishes *forma substantialis* from *forma accidentaria*, explaining: 'Cum igitur argentum vivum et reliqua metalla mutantur in argentum aut aurum, forma substantialis illorum non perit, sed sola accidentaria' (*De Triplici Praeparatione Auri et Argenti*, ap. Zetzner, iv, 422). The same conception of *forma* and *materia* was held by the orthodox scientists, such as Albertus Magnus, in discussing the generation of animals, plants, and metals.

² The letters of the alphabet are here used as special technical symbols. This use, suggested by Lull's *alphabetum artis*, is first developed for alchemy in the pseudo-Lullian *Testamentum*, where such meanings as the following occur: 'Pro prima distinctione, quae est A B C in prima operatione A significat Deum . . . B significat argentum vivum . . . C significat salis pe-

3° dicit quod E; 4° quod g; 5° quod d; 6° quod E; 7° quod f; 8° quando in [uase] reponitur, ut dicit quarta questio, arbor *spinosa est iuniperus*. 9°, ut dicit quinta questio, et non aliter conseruatur quando est ut dicit septima questio. 10° dicit quod *aqua fit ex [aluminis] gla[c]iei cum [ferro] distillato per allembicum*. 11° et 12° dicit quod infra 50 dies si bene rexerit; si male, proportionaliter. *Aqua sereniss[ima]*, de qua prius locuti fuimus fit ex [alumine?] et [ferro], et uocatur [sol] ultimatus, in quo [ouum philosophicum] conseruatur et excitari debet per [ignem] carbonum cum cineribus *iuniperi* adeo coopertum quod neque frigidum neque calidum sed quasi mortuum conseruet dictum [ignem]. Explicit pro nunc. Deo gratias, Amen.

Comparison of this text with that printed by Professor Newbold (pages 151–162 and 167–173) reveals the following errors in transcribing the unenciphered Latin or expanding the contractions. For ease of reference, I will note in each case the page and letter-group numbering of Professor Newbold's transcription:

1. coniunctio (152, 165) for questio¹
2. sunt (152, 181) for sint
3. sunt (153, 262) for sint
4. sit (157, 702) for sic
5. thesauro (*ibid.*) for tali²
6. conseruatur (157, 724) for conseruari
7. ponitur (158, 819) for ponit
8. caetera (158, 908) for tam³
9. quantum (159, 923) for quam³
10. ad clericos simul sequentes (162, 1268) for ad tale signum sequens⁴

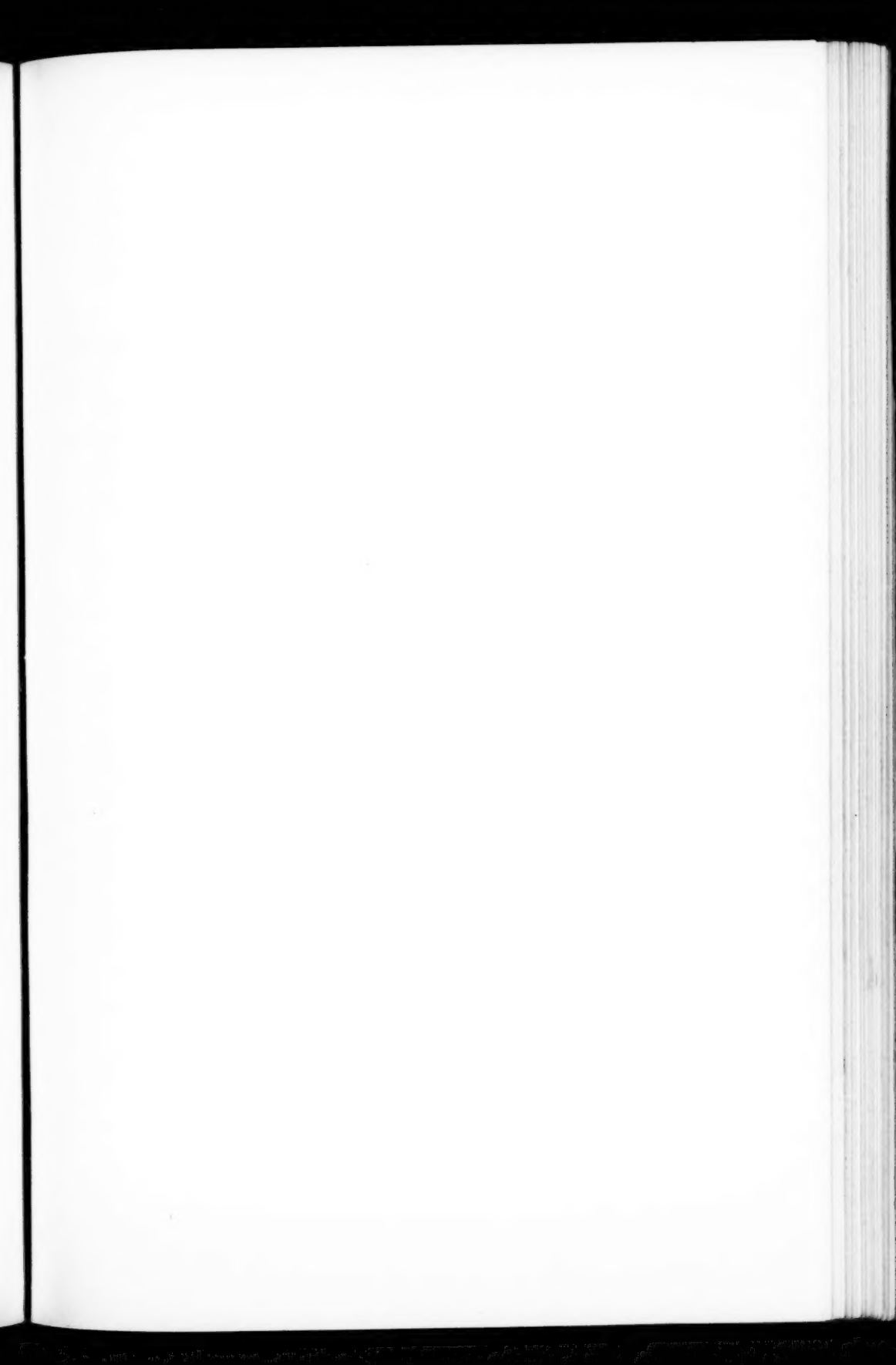
tram . . . D significat vitriolum azoqueum, quod corrumpit et confundit omne illud quod est de natura et esse communis argenti vivi, etc. (*Practica*, cap. iv, ap. Zetzner, iv, 153 ff.). These meanings do not appear to suit our text, but many other sets of meanings were assigned to the letters by imitators of the *Testamentum*; cf. those given by Singer, *Cat. Alch. MSS* 1, 225–27, and by Giovanni Carbonelli, *Sulle Fonte Storiche della Chimica e dell'Alchimia*, pp. 28–30. I have noted many others in manuscripts, but none which seemed entirely explanatory of this passage. How variable they are may be seen from a set quoted by Carbonelli, p. 30: 'A significa Chaos o principio; B fuoco deputato, ossia forma; C menstruo acuto; D quinta essentia; D sale armoniaco; E calcinazione; . . . H anima dei vegetali.'

¹ The context clearly demands *questio*; cf. *questiones* above.

² Clearly *tali*; compare the final long *i* with that in *oui*, four lines above it in the facsimile.

³ There can be no doubt that the correlatives *tam quam* are intended; both the context and the form of *tam* make this certain.

⁴ This common formula for referring the reader to the place where the continuation of a text is resumed is unmistakable. In Plate II the sign at the foot of f. 27r., col. 2, is partly cut away, but in the original photograph furnished me by Professor Newbold it is as clear and complete there as it is on f. 27v (see Pl. III).



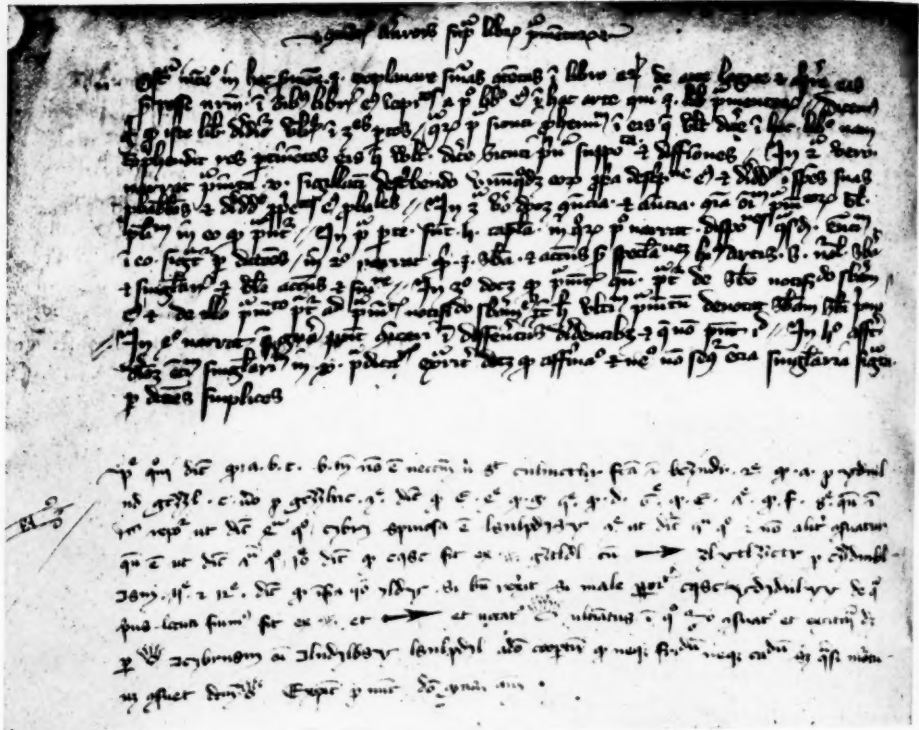


PLATE III

VAT. Lat. 3102 fol. 27^v

Courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Press

11. quod omitted (168, 138)
12. commune (169, 245) for none¹
13. quinto (171, 395) for quinquaginta²
14. quinta (171, 446) for qua
15. decem (173, 645) for dictum

It will be noted that this class of errors alone affects more than 70 letters of the basic text. This may seem a small proportion of the total number, but even a slight difference in the basic text may necessitate considerable modification of the decipherment. For example, in two passages Professor Newbold worked out new decipherments on the basis of corrections I sent him in 1922. He wrote:

'I am deeply indebted to you for the corrections in the readings of the MS which you send me. Setting aside the *c*'s and *l*'s, which are virtually indistinguishable, I think you are right in most of them; there are only a few about which I am uncertain. The most important is "tale signum sequens," which is so obvious I ought to have seen it myself. If the correction needed confirmation the translation would supply it: "scribi a Randa sui monte." ' [instead of (insanus!) illustria perscribi].³ 'P. S. After finishing this letter, I tried out your corrections in the passage i. 774-800. As you will see, the resulting letters readily recombine into a much better text, in which the jejune *sancto* and the inaccurate *de Deo* disappear: "unica causa. In coelo anima, lux generata recipit cupam," etc. [instead of "unico sancto. Accipit animus de Deo cupam"].⁴

But the total number of letters either certainly wrong or subject to grave suspicion is really very large — over 400 out of a total of 1955, or more than 20 per cent.

Most of Professor Newbold's errors or questionable assumptions in transcribing this text arose from his view that it was intended to be sheer nonsense, without even the sort of contextual consistency commonly found in occult alchemical documents. In this he was clearly

¹ But for the context the symbol might mean *commune*; it is, however, certainly *none*, marking the reply to the ninth question.

² The enciphered word *dies* immediately following this confirms the view that we must read 80, not 90.

³ See p. 162, Nos. 1268-77.

⁴ Here the only changes in the basic text were *y* for *p* (No. 775 in the cipher word), *lm* for *hn* (Nos. 797-8) and the recognition that a certain symbol (see p. 157, 784 ff.) was not *ymnus* but merely an *s* written above a *y* that had been written by mistake and cancelled.

wrong. Some of the symbols stand for alchemical processes or materials that I cannot determine with certainty, but the cipher groups are simple and easily solved and when this is done the text is not more mysterious than many another one dealing in figurative language with the processes of alchemy. The general meaning is obviously much the same as that expressed clearly and simply by Albertus Magnus in his generalized account of the preparation of the Elixir (*Mineral.*, III, x); details will doubtless be intelligible to experts in alchemy.

It is very strange that Professor Newbold would not admit that the 'meaningless groups of letters' in this MS are merely simple cipher groups. Anyone can test the matter for himself with the alphabet given on p.364. Strangely, also, he refused to recognize the equally simple cipher in the *Tractatus Trium Verborum*. In the facsimile from MS *Sloane 1754* (given in Newbold's Plate IX) the cipher is clear: 1) 'Explicit mzinsm et orhmsm menezdhsn Rlierh Azdsn ze hlgznnem ozrhd' (= 'Explicit magnum et primum mendacium Rogeri Bacun ad Iohannem Paric.' The only error is *e* for *c* in *Rlierh*.) 2) 'Explicit verdhsm menezdhsn Rlicrh Azdsn ad fratrem hlgznnem de ozrht Alk' (= 'Explicit tercium mendacium Rogeri Bacun ad fratrem Iohannem de Paris Alkimista.') 3) 'Explicit mzhst menezdhsn (=maius mendacium) eiusdem ut supra.' Obviously No. 2 should follow No. 3. In the MS the part of the plate marked 2 is on f. 75^r. That marked 3 is on f. 65^r. As to the forms of these cipher groups in other MSS of the *Trium Verborum*, anyone who will compare the decipherment just given with the groups printed by Newbold (p. 68 and *ibid.*, n. 32) can easily see how the scribal errors and misprints have occurred. The alphabet is:

Cipher : z a d e c f i g h m n l o r t v s
 Meaning: a b c d e f g h i m n o p r s t u

The cipher is simple and easy, and no two competent cryptographers would differ in the reading of it. Mr Robert Steele (see *Nature*, October 13, 1928, p. 564) and Dr Dorothea Singer (*Cat. . . . Alch. MSS*, I, 170) independently read it alike and as I do (and did in a letter to Professor Newbold in 1922).

In view of the fact that these groups of letters are not meaningless, as Professor Newbold supposed, but genuine cipher, and consequently just as determinate as plain text would be, Professor Newbold's theory (p. 68) that Bacon resorted to the device of 'meaningless letters' to facilitate the ending of his encipherment falls to the ground; and so does his suggestion (*ibid.*) that Bacon's second object was to send the 'unduly suspicious reader' off on a wild-goose chase.

Our study of the Vatican document has, I think, clearly proved that Professor Newbold's system of decipherment is so flexible and ambiguous that he obtains a decipherment even when operating upon a text 20 per cent of which certainly did not originate with Roger Bacon (even if any of it did). The demonstration that the cipher system is not Roger Bacon's but the product of the ingenuity of Professor Newbold's subconsciousness would, therefore, seem to be complete.

III. CRITICISM OF THE CONTENTS OF THE MESSAGES

Of course, the chief reason why Professor Newbold clung so unshakenly to his method was that he got messages containing statements which he supposed to be true and important and which he did not believe could have been supplied by his subconscious mental processes. Undoubtedly this is also the chief reason why those who feel incompetent to criticize his cipher system as a system accept it and its results. It therefore becomes necessary to examine these messages and see whether it is reasonable to suppose that they were enciphered by Roger Bacon.

1. *Messages from the Latin-text Cipher.* We will take up first the messages obtained from the supposed ciphers of the Latin-text. These are longer and more numerous than the shorthand ciphers; they are in the more primitive form of the cipher; and some of them make statements that can be tested by historical records.

a) *The Oxford Story.* This appears to have been the earliest message deciphered by Professor Newbold from a Latin text. His decipherment was made early in April, 1920. It is based upon Chapter x of the treatise *De Secretis Operibus Artis et Naturae, et de Nullitate*

Magiae, a work commonly ascribed to Bacon, although the authenticity of Chapters IX, X, and XI is very questionable. The decipherment gives an account of riots said to have occurred at Oxford between the *milites*, or knights, and the ecclesiastics. The decipherment, of course, is in Latin, but we may take as fairly representing it the paraphrase made by Professor Kent (pp. 134 f.):

On March 4, 1273, King Edward directed all the ecclesiastics of his kingdom to seize the vicious and to arrest the wrongdoers and criminal, that the dishonest might be put to confusion. They were accordingly arrested, that the King might be satisfied. But they were straightway freed from custody, because the ecclesiastics feared the neighboring knights; for any one at all might know that the end of their power was come if the monks could arrest them, and could attract from their serfdom the serfs, by the joyous carols and solemn hymns of the Church, that they might free them from the savagery of the King and the power of the knights.

Now at Oxford there were knights studying; they take arms against the ecclesiastics. The knights at Oxford bring military supplies secretly. Then the monks take a similar step against their foe: they charged the knights with schism, declaring that they had procured arms because they felt that they were guilty. The knights, fearing the monks, made fine excuses to the King: they (the monks) would demand the arrest of those whom they charged with the crime, that they might build up a pretense of their hostility; they have been challenged by them, to frighten those;¹ that pretense will turn into a trap. At that the ecclesiastics shut their gates and blocked up the lower parts of the rear entrances, which they turned over to Roger Bacon of Ilchester to guard, who was likewise also an exile from among the Celts, from Knockane in Munster, a city of Ireland.

The knights in vain came out to the ford of the Thames where the House of the Friars Minor stood, on a level with the river.² But the shouts of the populace implored them to keep away from the bank. When the populace was through, the knights (not wishing to go against popular opinion) gave the military salute just as they gave it to the Chancellor when he was presiding in a military capacity.

This draws the clerics to an uprising, even if the Chancellor was satisfied that the same show of respect be given to the outstanding Hundred-and-Sixty who . . . ³ and to the presiding officer of the whole body of scholars.

¹ [Those charged with the crime? — RGK]

² [If this be the meaning. — RGK]

³ [The words here and in the similar place later on, are obvious, but they do not suggest to the Editor the meaning which Newbold had for them. — RGK] The omitted words are: 'qui vitam reddant ut pillent clericos.'

But saints do not like bloodshed. Bacon has himself sent into the city to buy willow charcoal mixed with a solution of saltpeter and with wine,¹ on the pretence of buying medicine. . . . On April second, the knights had gone off, that in this way — whether it be avoidance or non-performance — the excuse for their wrongdoing might be the old custom of taking beer and wine straight on April first. When things turn out successful, there will be no investigation into things gone by; even the greatest crimes, in case of success, men are wont to say nothing about.

The statements made in this narrative would suffice to condemn it and the system by which it is obtained, whether we consider the general assumptions made or the specific facts stated. No one at all familiar with the history of England will readily believe that Edward I, upon succeeding to the throne and before his coronation, would have jeopardized his succession by such a violation of English laws and customs as is implied in the first sentence of the story. Certain types of offences against morality had long been under the jurisdiction of the Church, but to have empowered the ecclesiastics 'to seize the vicious and to arrest the wrongdoers and criminal' would have produced a revolution on the part of the laity which would have changed the whole course of English history. Even if this power had been exercised only temporarily, as the 'story' tells us it was, the chronicles of the time would have been full of the excitement caused by such an act.

The latter part of the first paragraph of the story seems sheer nonsense. How could the monks, 'by the joyous carols and solemn hymns of the Church,' attract the serfs from their serfdom and free them from the savagery of the King and the power of the knights? It may be noted in passing that the author of this story regarded monks (*monachi*) as synonymous with ecclesiastics and certainly, as including the friars. It is unlikely that a friar of the thirteenth century would have applied the term *monachi* to himself and the members of his order; certainly Bacon never does so.

The statement at the beginning of paragraph 2 that there were knights studying at Oxford, will not be readily believed by anyone familiar with the universities of England in the thirteenth century.

¹ [Ingredients for gunpowder, with which to make fireworks and thereby frighten off the besiegers — RGK] The omitted words after 'medicinam' are: 'menti suili.'

The students of the universities were almost without exception persons in clerical orders preparing for an ecclesiastical career. The narrative of this paragraph and the reference later 'to the outstanding Hundred-and-Sixty' 'qui vitam reddant ut pillent clericos' (cf. p. 140) implies such a number of knights among the students as is entirely incredible.

In the final sentence of paragraph 2, Roger Bacon is spoken of as 'an exile from among the Celts, from Knockane in Munster, a city of Ireland.' The idea that Bacon was an exile is based upon a misunderstanding of a passage in the *Opus Tertium*: 'recolens me iam a decem annis exulantem, quantum ad famam studii, quam retroactis temporibus obtinui.¹ Nor is there any evidence connecting him with Knockane or any other part of Ireland.

Comment on the ludicrousness of the actions ascribed to the knights in paragraph 3 is unnecessary,² but one would like to enquire when the chancellor of Oxford University ever acted, or was empowered to preside, in a military capacity.

I am entirely unable to understand either the Latin or the English of the first sentence in paragraph 4, though I am not surprised that Professor Kent omitted the phrase which describes the outstanding Hundred-and-Sixty as having given up their lives that they might pillage the ecclesiastics. Why a show of respect to them should have been expected to please the ecclesiastics is unintelligible, at least to me.

The third sentence is also astonishing both in latinity and in the statement it makes. Willow charcoal mixed with a solution of saltpeter and with wine might have made gunpowder, to be sure, but hardly with sufficient speed to have been of much benefit in this conflict; and what is the significance of the phrase 'with swinish mind, (*menti suili*), which Professor Kent omits from his paraphrase?

In a document which affords so many occasions for amusement

¹ *Opus Tertium*, ed. Brewer, p. 7.

² The 'ford of the Thames where the house of the Friars Minor stood' can mean only the ford of Trill Mill stream at Preachers' Bridge, which was nearer to the house of the Black Friars than to that of the Friars Minor; see the plan of Early Oxford in Wood's *City of Oxford* (ed. A. Clark), vol. 1, which also shows the house of the Friars Minor as within the city wall; cf. on the walling in of the grounds after Feb. 10, 1245, Wood, *op. cit.* vol. II, pp. 360 and 396.

we reach a climax with the priceless reference to 'the old custom of taking beer and wine straight on April first.'

But Professor Newbold declared that although 'neither the King's inquisition into crimes nor the riot at Oxford is mentioned' in contemporary chronicles, 'the original documents give distinct indication of these occurrences.' He notes that Prince Edward, who was on his way home from the Holy Land when the news of his father's death reached him, was received by the Pope at Rome (Orvieto¹) on St Valentine's Day, 1273, and connects with this interview the mission of two papal nuncios to England, 'apparently speaking on behalf of King Edward also, demanding payment of large sums of money to Edward for his expenses while away, and instituting an investigation into crimes and misdoings.' According to Stubbs (*Const. Hist.* 3rd ed., II, 108), the two tenths, voted by the English ecclesiastics to aid Edward and his brother Edmund in the Crusade from which they were returning, were voted on February 15. The nuncios must, therefore, have left the papal court some weeks before Edward arrived there. In any event, if Professor Newbold had read the lines immediately following the passage quoted from the contemporary chronicle in his footnote, he would have seen that the nuncios had no power to institute a general investigation into crimes and misdoings, but only to look after violations of ecclesiastical rights and liberties. There is not a single one of the forty-nine items referred to by Professor Newbold (p. 136) as if they were disorders among the laity which justifies that intimation. This cannot, therefore, be the investigation which the cipher document speaks of as ordered by the King. It was a purely ecclesiastical investigation ordered by the Pope, and, as I have said, the nuncios seem to have left the papal court before Edward arrived there.

The riots which Professor Newbold finds recorded both in the Chronicles and the Close and Patent Rolls are specifically said to have taken place between the Northerners and the Irish. The murderous outbreak occurred on January 26, 1274, and the list of per-

¹ According to Henry Gough's *Itinerary of Edward I*, I, p. 20, Edward was at Rome on February 5 and at Orvieto on February 14. He probably remained there till June; cf. also 'Chronicon of Th. Wykes' (*Ann. Monast.*, IV, 254).

sons charged with the trespasses committed contains no indication that knights or friars were involved. These statements may be verified from the references given by Professor Newbold himself,¹ a full summary of all the documents being given by Salter, *Mediaeval Archives of the University of Oxford*, I, 30-33.

The chronicles and records, therefore, do not support the Oxford story as told by Professor Newbold but distinctly refer to an entirely different student riot, at a different time, and between different antagonists. The Oxford students of the thirteenth century were a turbulent lot, and it would have been difficult to fix upon any year in which trouble was not brewing between the Irish and the Northerners; see Salter, I, 25 ff., and note the language of the final concord of November 29, 1267, quoted by him: 'Cum frequens et assidua inter Boreales et Hybernenses esset contencio, cuius occasione multociens studii tranquillitas Oxonie fuerit perturbata' (*ibid.*, I, 29).

Professor Newbold, however, could hardly have chosen a worse date than March, 1273, for the riot and the exploitation of Bacon's firecrackers. The chronicles of Winchester and Waverley inform us that there were rains and floods throughout the month and at the end a storm of wind which blew down houses, walls, and trees².

b) *The Paris Medical Text*. To the assumption that the *Epistola de Accidentibus Senectutis* contained a cipher message addressed to Pope Clement IV shortly before his death in November, 1268, and decipherment of this message Chapters xvii and xviii (pp. 176-185) are devoted. I have already shown (pp. 357f., above) that the *Epistola*, in the very form upon which Professor Newbold bases his decipherment, was addressed by Bacon to Pope Innocent IV before his

¹ The following errors in the references on page 136 may be noted: In note 11 the reference should read *Chron. H. Knighton* (instead of *Ann. Mon.*). The editor of the *Chronicon* was not H. Knighton but J. R. Lumby, and the word *Hybernici* is omitted at the end of the sentence quoted. In note 14, the reference to the Calendar of Close Rolls is correct. This is the document which gives the names of the persons charged with homicides and other trespasses; the references to pages 48 and 62 of the Calendar of Patent Rolls are, however, incorrect, as these pages contain nothing on the subject.

² *Ann. Monast.* II, 115: 'Item pluvia continua et inundationes multae per totum mensem Martii, et in fine mensis ventus validus per diem et noctem, qui domos, muros, et arbores per loca ad terram prostravit.' The same passage is repeated in the Waverley Annals, p. 381 of the same volume.

death in 1254 and that no cipher message could have been introduced into the text thirteen or fourteen years later. Examination of the message itself also suffices to disprove its authenticity.

The message as deciphered from the Paris Medical Text on pages 178-180 of Professor Newbold's book is a characteristic example of the incoherence and confusion of the cipher messages. As this incoherence is all pervasive, the reader will find it best illustrated by reference to the decipherment itself. After two paragraphs of vague and rather meaningless generalizations and a third paragraph referring to a letter from the Pope, come three paragraphs devoted to directions for treating stone in the bladder, an ailment from which, according to the message, the Pope was suffering. Why it should have been necessary to conceal these directions in an elaborate cipher it is difficult to understand. According to paragraph 4, the Pope had sent Bacon a letter describing his symptoms and asking him to prescribe a remedy for calculus. Such a letter does not exist, and it is altogether improbable that it was ever written. About two years earlier, the Pope wrote to a friend that he had shown his feet and legs to the famous physician Johannes de Procida but declined to take the medicine prescribed, preferring to commit his case to God (*Summo Medico*), 'Who treating me too mercifully, has not willed to afflict me as much as I have deserved.' Had he lost his nerve or his pious resignation to the chastisements of the Divine Mercy that he should now be appealing to Bacon for advice and help? But even if he had done so, there was nothing in the circumstances of the time which would make it dangerous for Bacon to reply in plain language. The surgical operation for calculus was well known and descriptions of the method of performing it, far clearer and more definite than these purporting to come from Bacon, may be found in medical MSS contemporary with Bacon and even a century earlier.¹ There was no lack in Italy of surgeons entirely competent to perform the operation. If Bacon had regarded an operation for calculus as necessary, all he needed to say was, 'Have your physician operate.'

¹ Interesting directions for performing lithotomy are reprinted by K. Sudhoff, *Beiträge Zur Geschichte d. Chirurgie im Mittelalter*; see especially II, 139, 290, and 373 and III, 41. The first of these is from the *Cirurgia Magistri Rogerii Fugardi* (of Salerno), who flourished c. 1170. Most

After this medical prescription come two paragraphs of generalizations and then the famous formula for producing metallic copper, which has made so profound an impression upon Professor Newbold's disciples. It does not appear why Bacon should have thought that the Pope, suffering the tortures of a painful disease, would have been interested in learning that a small amount of copper could be obtained from bluestone, or why anyone should have been interested in the process except as a curious experiment. The scientists of the time had apparently no difficulty in obtaining copper, and bluestone seems to have been more valuable than the copper itself. Apparently the author himself did not present his process as having any practical value, but expounded it simply to illustrate the generalization about elements with which it is introduced: 'In all mixed things the elements exist mixed; but if the elements can be released from the solutions and decoctions they are accepted as elements.' That this supposition is correct is indicated by the third sentence of the next paragraph ('Inde dicatur elementum') and by the sentence following the formula ('Sic erunt detecta elementa finita,' etc.). In any event, the application of the term 'element' to copper proves positively and unmistakably that it cannot have been written by a thirteenth century scientist. Copper was not an element according to the views of that time; there were only four elements — earth, air, water, and fire.

Another indication that this passage was written, not in the thirteenth century, but in the twentieth, is the form in which the Latin word for vitriol is used. Throughout the passage it is made a noun of

nearly contemporary with Bacon is that from the *Chirurgia Willelmi de Congenis, Burgensis Montpellier* (mid XIII cent.): 'Lapis quando confirmatus est, tantum per incisionem curatur. Et sic ligentur pedes patientis ad collum proprium et immisso digito dextre manus in anum patientis ducatur sicut aptius potest ad collum uesice lapis et facta incisione super peritoneum et per collum uesice, quantum potest minori uulnere existente, lapis caute inde cum instrumento ydoneo extrahatur et sic dimittatur uulnus, nec imponantur stuppe sed superponantur, ne impediatur consolidationem, quia per se consolidabitur. Si autem ualde magnus sit lapis, retrudatur ad fundum uesice, quia periculosum esset tam largam facere incisionem, quod per eam extrahi posset tantus lapis. Si enim extenderetur incisio ad tenuitatem uesice, uulnus non consolidaretur.' — II, 373 f.

The contrast of this clear professional note with the crude amateurishness of the alleged Baconian directions speaks for itself.

the third declension, whereas it is uniformly and, so far as I can learn, without exception, a neuter noun of the second declension.¹

The irregularity of the form of the word is, however, of less importance than the inaccurate information concerning its meaning and use. Quoting Professor Lukens, Professor Kent explains that the term *vitriol* 'is used in four meanings: (1) sulphuric acid; (2) copper sulphate, often specified as blue vitriol; (3) iron sulphate, called green vitriol; (4) zinc sulphate, called white vitriol.' This is true, but one would like to know the evidence for the next statement: 'The use of the term in the last two meanings had not yet developed in the time of Roger Bacon. . . .' On the contrary, Albertus Magnus, perhaps the most authoritative writer of Bacon's time, used *vitriolum* only as meaning green vitriol, the sulphate of iron. Writing of the *atramenta*, he says: 'Viride etiam, quod a quibusdam *vitreolum* vocatur,'² Kopp, the great historian of chemistry, is not quite accurate in saying that Albertus is the first writer to mention vitriol by name,³ for the term occurs, as Thorndike has pointed out,⁴ in the eighth or ninth century *Compositiones ad Tingenda* and the twelfth

¹ Professor Kent says he finds only *vitreolus*, but he must refer to the adjective, for *vitriolum* is the common form for the noun, occurring hundreds of times. I have not the time or space to comment on the numerous instances in which these decipherments present forms and usages contrary to the practice of Bacon and his contemporaries. Until the new dictionaries of mediaeval Latin are available, proof of violation of usage is hard to bring, but anyone who has read Bacon's genuine writings will continually be astonished at the diction and syntax of the deciphered Latin. In the passage under discussion, for example, *sales viles* is used to mean 'common salt'; but the term used by mediaeval scientists was simply *sal* or *sal commune* (or *communis*). The classical usage of *sales* (masc. pl.) for the singular was apparently unknown to them; they used the plural *sales* or *salia* to include *sal armoniacum*, *sal petrae*, *sal alkali*, *sal vitrioli*, and many others; see, e.g., the quotation from the Cambridge MS. of Rhazis, *De salis et aluminibus*, ap. Singer, *Cat.* 1, 108: 'Saliū autem sunt genera multa. Sal armoniacus. Sal communis et marinus,' etc., or Albertus Magnus, *Mineral. lib.* v, cap. II. Steele prints a different version of the text of Rhazis in *Isis*, XII, 10-46: 'Practical Chemistry in the XIIth Century,' from MS. 6514 of the Bibliothèque Nationale and B. M. Arundel 164. As Bacon quotes this treatise as authoritative he perhaps held salt in too high esteem to apply to it the term *viles*: 'Et Deus excelsus non laudavit creaturam in lege sicut est laus eius in sale. Cum ergo cogitaveris in ipso scies bonitatem eius' (Steele, *loc. cit.*, p. 16).

In the deciphered passage occurs also the form *vasum*, which the dictionaries record as anteclassical, but I do not remember to have met any such form in mediaeval alchemists; they use *vas*. But the variations from the usage of Bacon and his fellows are too numerous to mention.

² *Mineralium*, lib. v. cap. III (*Op. Omn.* ed. Borgnet, v, 99).

³ H. Kopp, *Geschichte der Chemie*, III, 63.

⁴ *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, I, chap. XXXIII.

century MS. of the *Mappe Clavicula*, but it is clear that to Bacon's great contemporary *vitriol* meant the sulphate of iron rather than that of copper. Bacon himself, so far as I remember, never used the term. In Rhazis, *De Aluminibus et Salibus* (ed. Steele, *ut supra*) *vitrioli* appears in the heading of paragraph 2: 'modus vitrioli in operatione,' apparently as a synonym for any *atramentum*. It is clear from numerous passages that the vitriol commonly used by mediaeval alchemists was green, that is, either sulphate of iron or an impure sulphate of copper and iron. As their principal concern was with the sulphur it contained, they did not much care what metal formed the base. Certainly Bacon could not have assumed that the Pope would understand vitriol to mean sulphate of copper. A specific descriptive term was needed.¹

But Professors Smith and Lukens, having procured metallic copper from blue vitriol by the Newbold formula, were convinced that the formula came from Roger Bacon and 'could not have been evolved by Professor Newbold's unconscious mind.' For my own part, I do not see how it is possible for anyone to make such an assertion. Professor Kent's account of Professor Newbold as boy and man suggests that he may have learned enough chemistry as an undergraduate to supply his subconscious mind with the materials for constructing the formula — 'As an undergraduate he stood easily first in every subject' (p. xi) — or that he may unconsciously have recalled some formula met in his wide reading of early science. All the chemists I have consulted about the formula recognized immediately that it was chemically possible.² It should be noted that salt and lees of wine figure in scores of mediaeval formulas. MS. *Sloane 4432*, in the British Museum, contains in folios 138–140 a report of a test which, though not identical with the formula, might easily have suggested it to Professor Newbold's ingenious subconsciousness.³ It is dated

¹ The fullest discussion I have seen of the vitriols in ancient writings is that by Francis Adams in his edition of Paulus Aegineta (*Sydenham Soc.*, III, 401 ff.).

² So Professor Stieglitz of Chicago, who has kindly replied to several chemical queries, and Professor Tenney L. Davis of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who writes: 'I have not seen this process described elsewhere, but all the same I do not find it very remarkable.'

³ I wonder whether Professor Lukens actually used lees of wine or a tartar flux. Professor Stieglitz writes: 'I have compared Newbold's formula with the report to Sir Hans Sloane. They

November 4, 1731, and addressed to Dr Cromwell Mortimer, Secretary of the Royal Society. It reads in part:

By ordre of Sir Hans Sloane j have Examined for the Royall society some China Indien Blew Stones, By the looks like Lapes Lazuli But by mij Es-sayes it was only a Rich copper oar . . . [Trials for "Ultramarine" and "E-namelings"].

j made then an Essay For copper. For which j calcined some undre a muffle to Exale away its superfluous sulphure, then j Took 3 oz. of it, and mixt it with 3 parts of common Flux of Tarter & nitre, & a little common salt atop of it, propre to collect the granulations, & so brought it to a convenient thin Flux, and that settled to a Regulus, But that Regulus proved no other undre the Hammer, than to be only Fine Swedish copper, rich enough as might containe about 30 pound per Cent of mettall. For which j Brought the Boddom of the crucible here along with me to show such as it came out of the Fire.

Of course, I do not assert that Professor Newbold ever saw this MS., but it is no part of my task to trace the journeyings of so wide-ranging a reader. It is enough for me that Roger Bacon could not have been the author of the messages deciphered from the *Epistola*.

c) *The Vatican Document*. The subject of the deciphered passage is stated in its opening words to be "The Way from Earth to Heaven" ('De Via ex Terra ad Coelos'). In the genuine philosophical writings of Bacon, it is never difficult to tell what he is talking about or what he is saying about it. But it is doubtful whether any reader of this decipherment could guess its subject or could discover any appropriateness in the title assigned to it. So far as any meaning can be extracted from the obscure and incoherent Latin, the greater part of it is devoted to vague and inaccurate directions concerning the construction and use of the alphabetic table and the figures of Ramon Lull's system of symbolic logic. The quality of it is fairly represented, I believe, by the following translation of the first few pages:

CONCERNING THE WAY FROM EARTH TO HEAVEN

"The duplex light discerns mixed principles: one is of art, terrestrial; the second principle is immaterial. They detect feigned things and deduce sim-

are, indeed, very similar and fundamentally follow the same chemical principles. The tartar flux of the Sloane MS. is equivalent to the lees of wine in the Newbold formula.

ple and appropriate things from principles as from elements. Transfer all the elements to the left side of the second. Now do this again to the others. Let there be receptacles conjoined with parallel lines, eighty-four vertical and twenty perpendicular to them. In turn inscribe the letters of the alphabet according to the principles of Lull, not from metathesis of each but according to the rules of Lull, the principles of whose truth, if you should grasp them, would be as the sun to health and as art to ignorance. The lunatic feigns that the sane of sense are victims of hallucination; he disdains sanity if his insanity succeeds.¹

The contrast between this vague jargon and the clear simplicity of Bacon's philosophical discussions should convince every reader that this did not emanate from Roger Bacon.

But as there may be some persons to whom its incoherence and its striking contrast with Bacon's habits of thought and expression will not seem adequate reasons for denying the Baconian authorship of the message, I will not insist upon this argument, but will invite attention to the fact that the decipherment contains a passage which for historical reasons cannot have been written by Roger Bacon. On p. 170 occurs the admonition: 'Remember to examine the *De Auditu Kabbalístico* of Lull.'² But the *De Auditu Kabbalístico* was not written by Lull; it is one of the many apocryphal books written by others and attributed to him by uncritical scribes and editors. The sole paragraph devoted to this work by the writers of the extensive article on Lull in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (XXIX, 1-386) reads as follows:

LXXVII. *Ars Cabbalistica ou Opusculum de auditu cabbalístico.* — Cet ouvrage est encore une introduction à l'étude de toutes les sciences. Il a été souvent imprimé. . . Mais il n'est pas de Raimond. D'abord l'auteur y

¹ The Latin of the translated passage is as follows:

'Dispicit mixta principia lumen duplex: unum est artis, terrestre; secundum principium est immateriale. Detegunt commenticia et repetunt simplicia et decentia e principiis ut elementis. Transporta elementa cuncta ad faciem sinistram secundi. Nunc ita fac iterum ceteris. Fiant receptacula coniuncta lineis parallelis, octoginta quatuor recta et opposita ad perpendicularum viginti. In vicem inscribe apices alphabeti secundum Lulli principia, non ex metathesi cuiuscunque, sed secundum Lulli regulas, cuius veri principia, si ea accessieris, essent ut sol ad sanitatem et ars ad ignorantiam. Delirus sensu sanos fingit ecstáticos, ille despicit sanitatem si eius insanitas succedit.'

² 'Memento videre scriptum *De Auditu Kabbalístico* Lulli.'

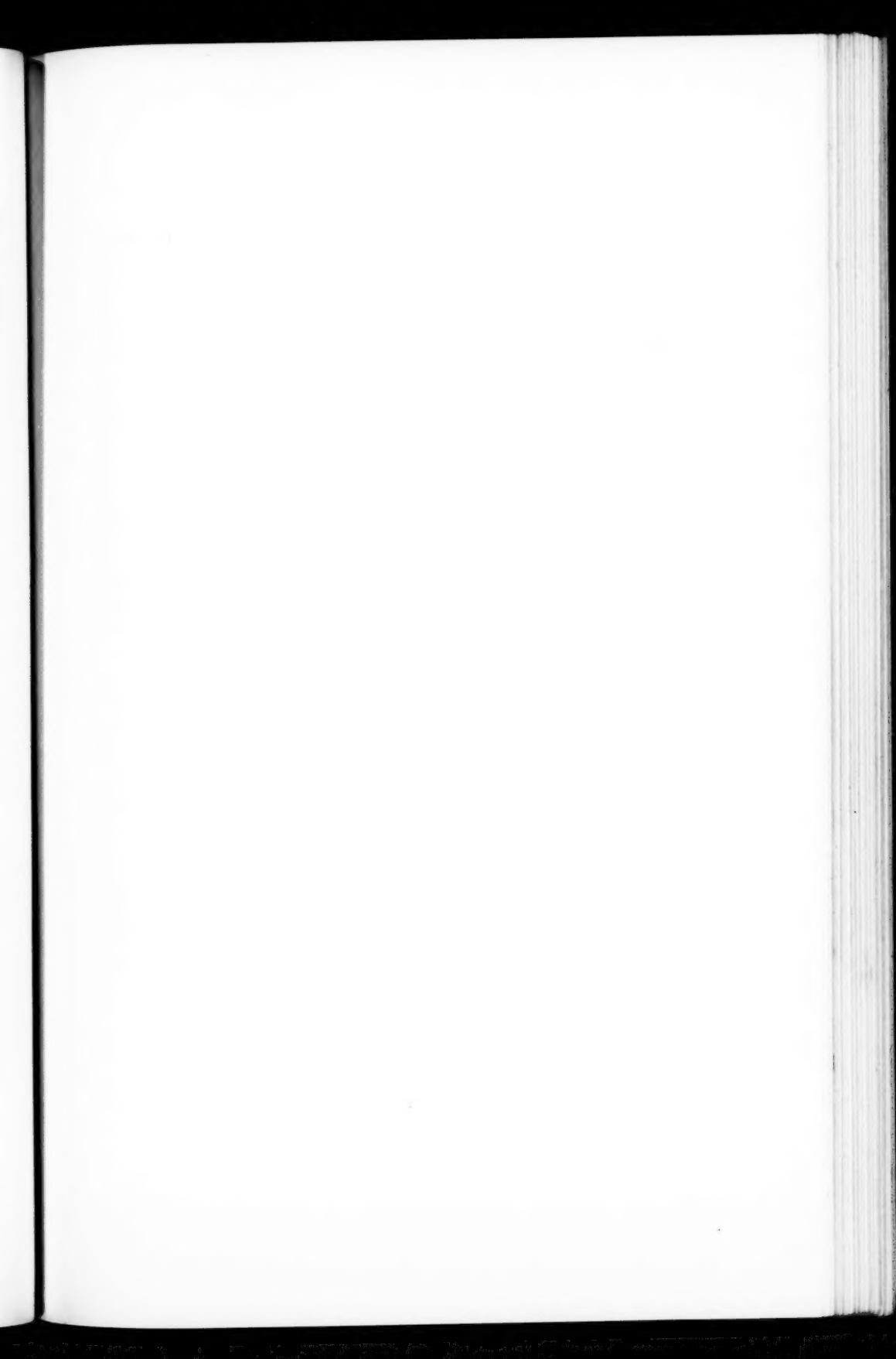




PLATE IV

THE ANNULAR ECLIPSE OF 1290: FOLIO 67

Courtesy of Wilfrid M. Voynich and the University of Pennsylvania Press

cite comme étant son ouvrage un traité *De conditionibus figurarum et numerorum*, qu'on ne rencontre nulle part sous le nom de notre Majorcain; ensuite, comme le fait remarquer Pascal (*Vind. Lull.*, I, 275), le langage abstrait de cet *Ars cabbalistica* n'est pas celui que Raimond parle d'habitude. Enfin, l'ouvrage n'est cité dans aucun des anciens catalogues.¹ Voilà trois objections dont l'ensemble nous paraît avoir tout le poids d'un argument décisif (p. 255).

I may add that the latest and best biographer of Lull, Professor E. Allison Peers,² does not even mention the *De Auditu Kabbalístico*, though he discusses in great detail all the genuine works of Lull. If these reasons are not conclusive against the possibility that Bacon could have ascribed the work to Lull, I will adduce two more: (1) The *De Auditu* shows, as Professor Newbold pointed out (p. 164), the influence of the Jewish Kabbalah, but no such influence appears in the genuine works of Lull. (2) The *De Auditu* is clearly derived from the *Ars Brevis*, written, as the colophon informs us, at Pisa 'in monasterio Sancti Dominici in mense Ianuarii, in Anno Domini M.CCC. VII.'³ If any doubt remains that the *De Auditu* was not written until after Bacon's death, which apparently occurred in 1292,⁴ the *Ars Brevis* informs us that it is abbreviated from the *Ars Magna et Ultima*,⁵ begun at Lyons in November, 1305, and finished at Pisa in 1308.

d) *The Verbum Abbreviatum*. As the message deciphered from this text contains no features that can be easily subjected to historical criticism, may be pardoned for declining to examine it, especially as the very passage upon which the decipherment is based was writ-

¹ 'Du vivant même de Raimond Lulle, un de ses amis . . . a écrit l'histoire de sa vie, peut-être sous sa dictée, et à cette histoire il a joint la liste des ouvrages que Lulle avait composés jusqu'au milieu de l'année 1311, . . . enfin quelque temps après, soit avant, soit après la mort de Raimond, il a fait à cette liste un certain nombre d'additions.' (The lists follow.) — *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxix, 71-74.

² *Ramon Lull: A Biography*, London: 1929, pp. xviii and 454.

³ Cf. *Raymundi Lullii Opera*, etc. Argentorati. M.DC.LI, p. 42, and Peers, *op. cit.*, p. 335. The date is, of course, Jan., 1308.

⁴ Cf. Newbold-Kent, p. 15.

⁵ Peers, *op. cit.*, p. 334, gives the title as *Ars Generalis et Ultima*. In the edition of 1651 it is *Ars Magna et Ultima*, and the Incipit reads: 'Deus cum tua summa perfectione, incipit ars magna, generalis, et ultima.'

ten, not by Roger Bacon, but by Raymundus Gaufridus (see above, p. 13 or Newbold-Kent, p. 187).

2) *Decipherments from the Voynich MS.* Probably every reader of the Newbold-Kent volume has noted with surprise, not only how few and brief are the passages deciphered from the Voynich MS., but, also, and more significantly, how unimportant¹ they are, and how entirely they fail to fulfil the promise, said to be implied by the drawings, of revelations of Bacon's researches with a compound microscope in the fields of histology and embryology. Aside from the decipherment of the so-called Key (pp. 118-9), concerning which my remarks above on p. 11, n. 1, may perhaps suffice, there are only three passages of even moderate length — those on the Eclipse of 1290 (p. 121, transl. p. 122), the Nebula in Andromeda (p. 124), and the Comet of 1274 (p. 128, transl. p. 125).

a) *The Eclipse.* The decipherment reads:

Istam eclipsin observavi Oxoniae nonis Septembribus anno Domini millesimo ducesimo noningentesimo. Axis maxima orbis lunae illic proxima axi solis erat.

Anularis eclipsis hinc amputat virtutes quae illic ab sole iactantur.

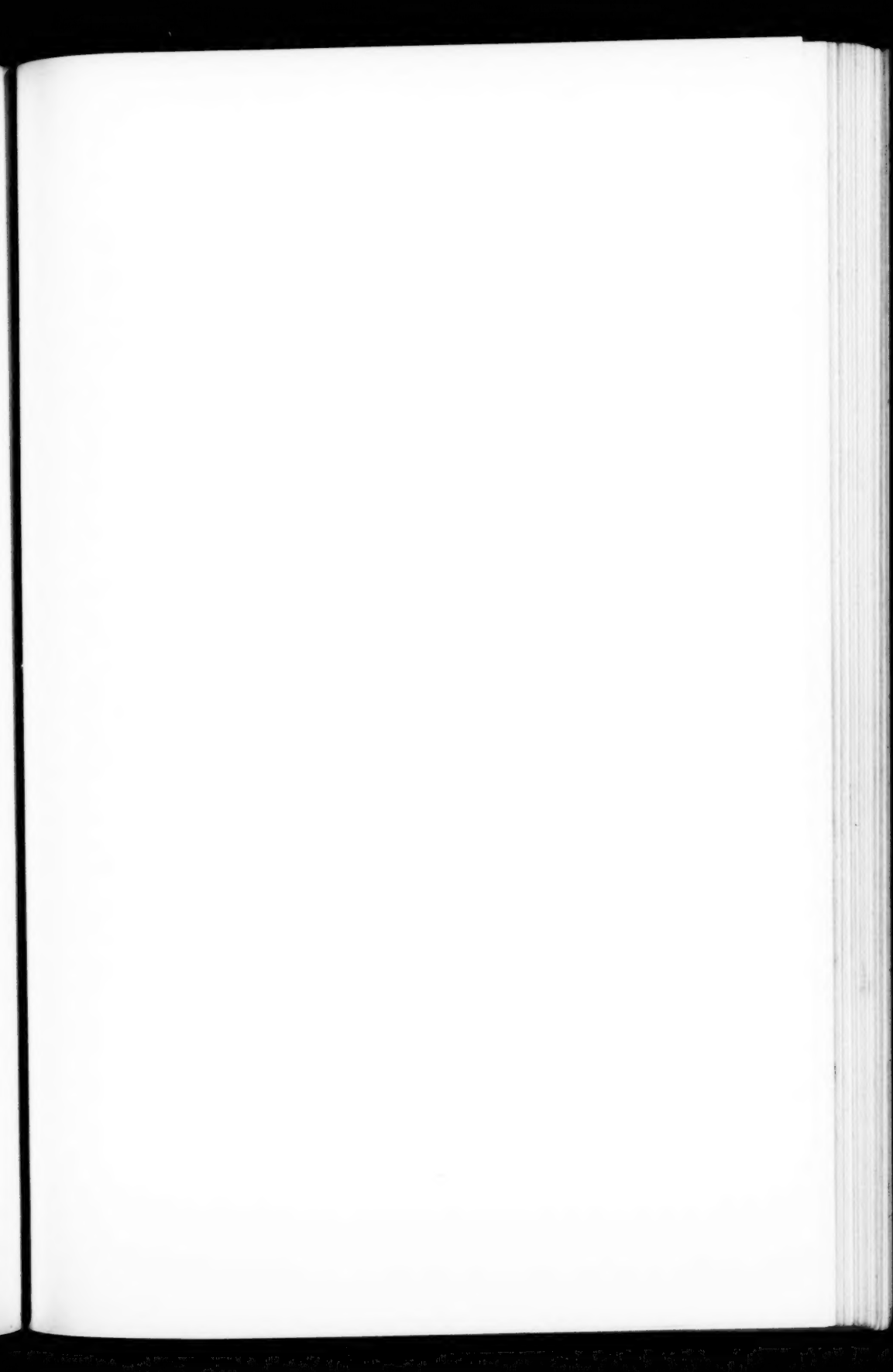
Hic stella basilica nunc proxima soli, praeceps obscuratur lumine solis.

As Professor Newbold himself admits (p. 122) that he did not read 'the caption,' that is, paragraph 1, until Professor Eric Doolittle had given him the date of an annular eclipse that might have been seen by Bacon, the reading does not carry its own authentication. On the other hand, it is extremely doubtful whether Bacon would have used the term 'anularis² eclipsis'; and, since he and his contemporaries believed that the orb of the moon was circular, it is difficult to admit that he would have spoken of the 'axis maxima orbis.'

Furthermore, I invite the reader to examine carefully Plate IV and say whether it bears any resemblance whatever to an annular eclipse.

¹ Comets and eclipses are recorded by the chroniclers with no hint that it was dangerous to record them. MS *Digby 2*, a XIII century MS by a Franciscan, contains a 'Prognosticatio eclipsium ab anno 1281 usque ad annum 1300.'

² Ducange does not give any example of this use of *anularis* and I have not found it in any mediaeval writer.



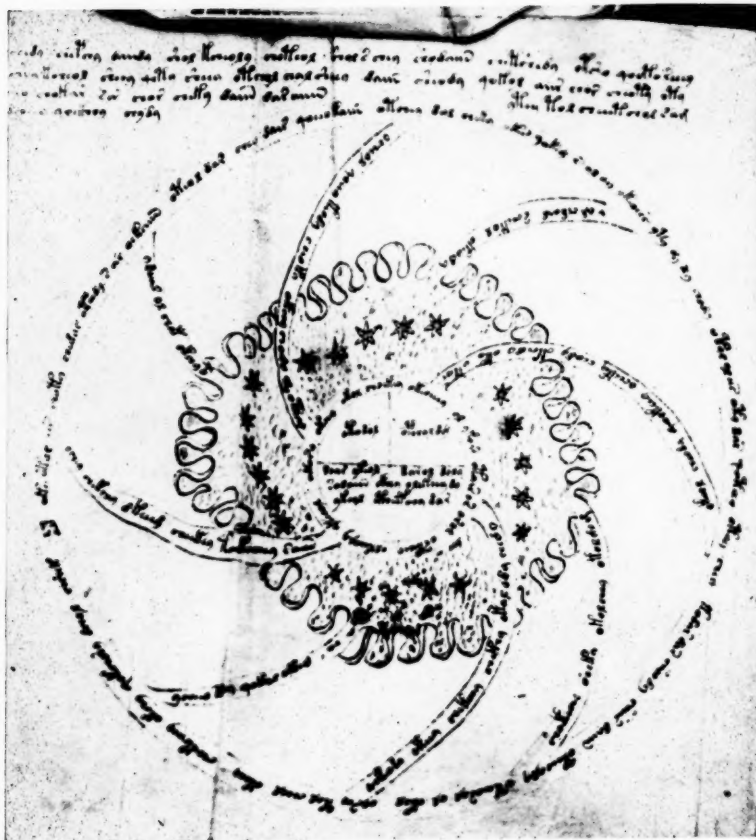


PLATE V

THE SPIRAL NEBULA: FOLIO 68'

Courtesy of Wilfrid M. Voynich and the University of Pennsylvania Press

b) *The Nebula in Andromeda*. The decipherment reads:

Vidi stellas in speculo concavo, in cochleae forma agglomeratas, luminantes lumine visibili inter stellas quae porrectae sunt inter umbilicum Pegasi, cincturam Andromedae, et caput Cassiopeae. Pegasus illis praecurrit proximus, effigies equi alati cuius alae penna tangit coluro [sic] qui secat hemispheram septentrionalem versus equinoctialem [sic] punctum. Spira involuta est stellarum quae lucent suo lumine in nebulis spissis stellarum qui iacent in spiris cochleae.

I am unable to decide whether the spiral here consists of the nebula or of bright stars involved in it; and I fail to see why Pegasus, who strides above the head of Andromeda, should be used to locate a nebula commonly described simply as in the girdle of Andromeda; but these things have perhaps no bearing on the Baconian authorship of the passage. Moreover, Bacon was possibly as capable as Professor Newbold of writing 'equinoctialem punctum' and of making a feather of the wing of Pegasus cut the equinoctial colure, but it is quite certain that Bacon could not have constructed a reflecting telescope which would have shown the spiral structure of the nebula. His mirrors, according to Professor Newbold 'cost him respectively about \$1500, \$250, \$100, \$75, or less,' but the spiral structure is not visible in even the most powerful modern telescopes, and there is no reason to believe that any sensible change in its form has occurred in 650 years.¹

Moreover, I must again object to Professor Newbold's interpretation of the drawing (Plate v). It does not represent a spiral nebula. The central circle is, I incline to think, a conventional diagram of the earth, with its three great divisions — Europe, Africa, and Asia. Around it are the stars, and beyond them is perhaps Chaos, represented by the looped line. From far outside — perhaps the Empyrean — influences flow in upon the earth. In any event, the spirals represent incoming, not outgoing, influences, as is clear from the direction of the writing in each spiral. This alone seems to me fatal to the theory that the drawing represents the Nebula in Andromeda. But the central tripartite circle,¹ whatever be its meaning, is equally conclusive.

¹ See the quotations in Newbold's notes, pp. 123-24.

c) *The Comet of 1274*. The decipherment reads:

Transcendit summum esse extinctionem. Si principia materialia aggregantur in cometas, spiritualia aufugiunt. Nonis Decembribus millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, stella cum crinibus spissis aioreitai. Aer torpet, stupet spiritus, meruli coeunt ipsi ex coelis sub tecta. Margareta, exul cognoscens quo incolarit in stellis, anxia poscit congregari in marmoreas domos Dei. Currit Aprilis suavissime, occurrit lues intestinalis, moriuntur circa ccc. Expirant plorantes.

Professor Newbold summed up his discussion of this decipherment by declaring: 'All the ideas of this passage are therefore completely verified.' He had, however, already admitted that the English chronicles give the year of the comet, not as 1273, but as 1274, and that he did not decipher the day of the month or the name of Margaret until he had read them in the chronicles. It is perhaps significant that this decipherment was begun in December, 1920, and that the facts about the comet and the deaths of Margaret and her sister Beatrice are given in the chronicles which Professor Newbold was searching in the spring and summer of that year for verification of his Oxford story. The volumes of the *Annales Monastici* contain a number of comparatively brief chronicles covering the early years of Edward I.² The deaths of Beatrice and Margaret, King Edward's sisters, are recorded in vol. III, p. 265 and vol. IV, p. 262. They are said to have taken place 'circa mediam Quadragesimam,' 1275. It does not seem to have occurred to the chroniclers that the comet caused or portended these deaths, although the Worcester annalist (*ibid.*, IV, 467) says: 'Erant enim dominae multum famosae et pulcherrimae iuventutis.'

There remain, then, of Professor Newbold's four claims only these: that comets 'loosen spirit from matter' and that they cause the air

¹ For diagrams of the tripartite division of the world see Konrad Miller, *Mappamundi* (1895-98), pt. 3, pp. 110-14 and 116-22, or *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed., xvii, 698. Carbonelli, *op. cit.*, gives the diagram both in this meaning (Fig. 61, p. 55) and as representing the *lapis* or *ouum philosophorum* (Fig. 53, p. 50 and Fig. 66, p. 58).

² Professor Newbold was slightly inaccurate in saying (p. 125) that the entry concerning the coronation of Edward I (*Ann. Mon.*, IV, 467) follows the entry about the comet with its accompanying earthquake, lightning, thunder, and fiery serpent — which, by the bye, seem not to have attracted Bacon's attention. The inaccuracy would not be worth noticing, but for the possibility that some reader might infer that the comet belonged to the preceding year.

to grow heavy. The first is an ancient and honorable superstition;¹ for the second, I know no evidence.

For the last two sentences of the decipherment (omitted in his translation) Professor Newbold apparently sought no historical verification, although the occurrence of a plague would hardly be left unnoted by the chroniclers. As a matter of fact, they do record a plague as breaking out in England this year (1275) and lasting 28 years, but, unfortunately for Professor Newbold's story, it attacked, not men, but sheep. Rishanger's account is typical: 'Eo anno infausta lues ovium surrepsit in Anglia.' This does not suit Professor Newbold's last sentence: 'Expirant plorantes.'

d) *Minor decipherments from the Voynich MS.* For completeness, seven brief passages remain to be noted. I will list them in the order in which they occur:

(1) Pericles occupat centrum Saturni planetae, cuius Jupiter officit curru quia velocior (p. 47).

(2) Ut sint in sacco rimantur pulpam de via extra. Iste currat in angulos ac in sulco, ecce, ova aspicit (p. 48).

(3) Asiam homines explorant qui in periculo vigerint (p. 97).

(4) Vires velut multiplicant res materiales (p. 101).

(5) Mundi, ecclesia, imperium tui (p. 101).

(6) Ista est stella occasa fixo ex situ astri. Fessa obstupescit hic (Pl. xiv).

(7) Censor Cato Fulvium nunc excellit (p. 131).

Obviously these contain little that can be subjected to historical criticism, but it is hard to see why Bacon should have felt it necessary to conceal them in a cipher. One is, however, surprised that Bacon or anyone else in the thirteenth century should be interested in the news about Pericles, Cato, and Fulvius; and one is puzzled to reconcile Jupiter's interference with the motion of Saturn with the astronomical views held by Bacon and his contemporaries.

Number 2, mysterious as it is, has the distinction of at least seem-

¹ The *Margarita Philosophica* of 1598 attempts to rationalize the belief: 'Mortem autem principum cometa fortasse ex eo significare dicitur quod principes ut magis delicati vel intemperati ab aere corrupto citius inficiuntur.' — *Lib. ix, Cap. xxxiii.*

² W. Rishanger, *Cronica*, Rolls Series, p. 85.

ing to bear some relation to the biological drawings. It is to be regretted that Professor Newbold did not decipher the rest of this page or at least the other legends, for his interpretation of the drawings (shown in his Plate V) is very puzzling. One might accept 'the schematized ovaries,' and the Fallopian tubes, but why are there streams of ova descending into the uterus? Why are there two connected uteri? And why seven or eight 'souls (spermatozoa)' and eight ova in a uterus? As to the legend itself, I might be less sceptical of the reading but for the fact that in this, as in many similar cases, I cannot find the shorthand signs shown at the foot of page 48 in the legend shown in Plate V. In fact, this legend, like the rest of the groups of symbols in the manuscript, seems to me to have been written with freehand strokes, not built up with meticulous care by combining microscopic shorthand signs.

CONCLUSION

It appears, then, that Professor Newbold's cipher systems and his decipherments were not discoveries of secrets hidden by Roger Bacon but the products of his own intense enthusiasm and his learned and ingenious subconsciousness. The systems are incapable of transmitting information definitely and accurately. Texts were deciphered into which Roger Bacon could not possibly have introduced the messages procured from them. And finally, historical criticism shows clearly that some of the most pretentious of the messages could not have been written by Roger Bacon or any other Englishman of the thirteenth century. That such a judgment must be passed upon the work of so learned and brilliant a scholar and so sincere and attractive a personality as Professor Newbold is almost tragic. I say, 'almost,' for after all, this record of defeat is none the less a record of scholastic heroism. Confronted with a manuscript, which, though obviously interesting and important for the history of science, had baffled experts of the twentieth century as it had those of the sixteenth and seventeenth, he refused to admit that it could not be read. Eight months he labored before he obtained what he regarded as the first verification of his theories; and eight years — the whole remainder, indeed, of his all too brief life — he devoted with feverish

energy to the application of them. That he pursued a wrong path was due in part, no doubt, to his ignorance of cipher and in part, certainly, to his intense interest in the problem and his extraordinary ingenuity, but he was of the stuff of which heroes and martyrs are made.

We can only hope that some one with equal courage and devotion but with a sounder method will be found to renew the attack upon the mysterious cipher of the Voynich manuscript. If at present the cipher seems insoluble, this is because the attack has proceeded on false assumptions. We do not, in fact, know when the MS. was written, or where, or what language lies at the basis of the encipherment. When the correct hypotheses are applied, the cipher will perhaps reveal itself as simple and easy, and the fortunate decipherer will add an interesting chapter to the history of science. It is greatly to be desired that the manuscript should be placed in some public institution¹ from which photostats could be furnished to persons properly equipped for attacking the problem of decipherment, and that scholars equipped with the necessary armament of knowledge and ingenuity and patience should renew the attack upon the mysterious manuscript.

¹ Recently a set of photostats of the MS. has been deposited in the British Museum.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *MORALIUM DOGMA PHILOSOPHORUM*

By JOHN R. WILLIAMS

THE didactic literature of the later Middle Ages abounds in treatises dealing with the virtues and vices. One of the most popular of these was the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum*, or, as some modern writers cite it, the *De Honesto et Utili*.¹ Though not entirely lacking in originality, the work is essentially a compilation of ethical maxims drawn from the *De Officiis* of Cicero, the *De Beneficiis* of Seneca, and the writings of a considerable number of other Latin authors. Little to the taste of a twentieth-century reader as such a compendium may be, there is every indication that in its day it was a general favorite. Not only is the Latin original extant in at least sixty-seven MSS,² but, what is more significant, a translation into Old French survives in thirty-eight.³ A few scattered MSS prove, moreover, that it was rendered wholly or in part into other vernacular tongues, Italian,⁴ Franconian German,⁵ and even Icelandic.⁶ These MSS are widely dispersed through Western Europe.

¹ Older editions have been superseded by that of John Holmberg, *Das Moraliun Dogma Philosophorum des Guillaume de Conches, Lateinisch, Altfranzösisch und Mittelniederfränkisch* (Arbeten Utgivna med Understöd av Vilhelm Ekmans Universitetsfond, xxxiii; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1920).

² Altogether I have inspected thirty-three Latin MSS. Holmberg, pp. 12-15, gives a list of fifty. To this should be added the following: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS *lat.* 6731 (xv century), 11120 (xv century), 14703 (xiv century), 15693 (xiii century); Cambrai, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 977 (late xii or early xiii century); Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 2079 (xiv century); Vatican, *Regina lat.* MS. 537 (xv century); Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS. 210 (late xii or early xiii century); Oxford, Bodleian, MS. 212 (extracts made in the xv century), and *Miscellaneous MS.* 2044 (ca. 1300), Balliol College, MS. 285 (?); Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS. 878 (xiv century), Trinity College, MS. 1368 (xiii century), University Library, MSS 1112 (xiv century), 1353 (xv century), and 1697 (xiv century); Utrecht, University Library, MS. 318 (?). The first eight of these I have actually examined; for the others I have been obliged to depend upon catalogues. No doubt the list of MSS is still incomplete.

³ Holmberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40. I have examined seventeen of these MSS.

⁴ See R. Renier, *Della Vita e delle Opere di Brunetto Latini, Monografia di Thor Sundby, tradotta dall' originale Danese con Appendici di Isidoro del Lungo e Adolfo Mussafia* (Florence: 1884), pp. 282 ff. The Italian translation was edited and published by Roberto de Visiani, 'Trattato di Virtù Morali' (in *Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie Inedite*, LXI; Bologna: 1865).

⁵ Holmberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-61; 85 ff.

⁶ Thor Sundby, *Brunetto Latinus leenet og skrifter* (Copenhagen: 1869), Appendix, p. cxi.

Chronologically the demand for the work persisted from the late twelfth century to the eve of the Protestant Revolt. By 1514 at least five printed editions were in circulation.¹

The esteem in which the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorum* was held is further demonstrated by the alacrity with which mediaeval writers availed themselves of it. Not only did this treatise deal with a theme of which they never wearied, but it was peculiarly adapted to satisfy many and varied demands. The shallow and superficial welcomed it as a veritable treasure-house whence with slight expenditure of effort they might pilfer the rarest gems of Latin eloquence. At the same time, profound and respectable scholars did not disdain its services as a concise and convenient summary of the ethical teachings of the gentile philosophers. Unfortunately those who used it seldom acknowledged their indebtedness, but such plagiarism was not uncommon in mediaeval times. One recognizes with little difficulty passages from it in the *De Principis Instructione Liber* of Giraldus Cambrensis,² in the *Tresor* of Brunetto Latini,³ and in the *Liber Consolationis et Consilii* of Albertano of Brescia.⁴ Its influence is also perceptible in the *Speculum Doctrinale* of the distinguished encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais, in the *Catholicon* of John of Genoa, and especially in the *Summa de Virtutibus et Vitiis* of Guillelmus Paraldus.⁵ Poets, too, made extensive use of the treatise. Even before the end of the twelfth century Wernher von Elmendorf had rendered much of it into German verse,⁶ and in the thirteenth century Alart of Cambrai drew heavily upon it in the composition of his *Moralités des Philosophes*.⁷ Diligent search would, no doubt, reveal its use by many other writers.

In view of such popularity it is indeed surprising that in the Mid-

¹ Holmberg, pp. 15-16.

² Edited by G. F. Warner, *Rolls Series*, 21, VIII (London: 1891).

³ Sundby, *op. cit.*, p. 170; Holmberg, p. 32.

⁴ Albertano acknowledges his dependence on the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorum*. See Thor Sundby, *Albertani Briziensis Liber Consolationis et Consilii* (London: Chaucer Society, 1878), p. 94.

⁵ Holmberg, p. 9; p. 11, note 4. See also his notes to the Latin text, pp. 184-193.

⁶ See A. Schönbach, 'Die Quelle Wernhers von Elmendorf,' in *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum und Deutsche Litteratur*, xxxiv (Neue Folge, xxii: 1890), 55 ff.

⁷ Holmberg, pp. 33 ff.

dle Ages comparatively little curiosity existed as to the origin of the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorum*. Apparently it had passed into general circulation devoid of the name of its author, but the scribes who copied it and the scholars who borrowed from it seem to have made little effort to establish his identity. Possibly the unoriginal character of the work led them to assume that the authorship was a matter of slight importance. However this may be, modern scholars have shown themselves less indifferent by attempting to rescue the treatise from anonymity. As the evidence at their disposal has been neither plentiful nor free from ambiguities, controversy has arisen and the question of authorship has, perhaps, received more attention than it intrinsically deserves. The last thorough examination of the problem was made some forty years ago by Bernard Hauréau. His conclusions have been accepted by a number of distinguished authorities, among them Clemens Baeumker,¹ Maurice de Wulf,² and Lynn Thorndike.³ To reopen a controversy which such eminent opinion has conceded to be closed may seem presumptuous. I am convinced, however, that there are good reasons for so doing.

The first scholar of modern times to interest himself in the authorship of the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorum* was Dom Beaugendre. Noting the presence of the treatise in certain MSS containing works of Hildebert of Lavardin, the learned Benedictine concluded that it too was from the pen of that twelfth-century humanist. Accordingly he included it in his edition of Hildebert's works which was published in 1708.⁴ Plausible though his authorship may appear,

¹ See his article on William of Conches in H. J. Wetzer and B. Welte's *Kirchenlexicon*, XII (1901), 1601.

² *Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale* (Louvain: 1924), I, 145.

³ *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Macmillan, 1923), II, 51. Accepted also by H. Flatten, *Die Philosophie des Wilhelm von Conches* (diss., Bonn, 1929), pp. 13, 14; 184 ff. It is only fair to add that R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought and Learning* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1920), does not include the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorum* among the writings of William of Conches and that Professor C. H. Haskins in his more recent works is inclined to consider William's authorship unproved.

⁴ *Venerabilis Hildeberti primo Cenomanensis deinde Turonensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia tam Edita quam Inedita. Accesserunt Marbodi Redonensis Episcopi, ipsius Hildeberti Supparis Opuscula* (Paris: 1708), p. 959. Beaugendre's preface is also given in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXI, 1005 ff.

there is in reality little reason for accepting it. The instances in which the treatise is found together with writings of Hildebert are few indeed when compared with the total number of extant MSS. Nor do certain vague references in that author's letters have the positive value that Beaugendre attributed to them.

The critics of the nineteenth century were not slow in discerning the unsatisfactory character of his arguments. First, to reject the authorship of Hildebert was the Danish scholar, Thor Sundby, who, from evidence to be considered later, contended that the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorum* was the work of Walter of Châtillon, a poet of the twelfth century whose principal claim to fame is a Latin epic known as the *Alexandreid*.¹ Then M. Hauréau took up the cudgels. Maintaining that there was little to support either the attribution made by Beaugendre or that made by Sundby, he proceeded to muster a formidable array of evidence, both internal and external, supporting the authorship of William of Conches, a grammarian and natural philosopher of the twelfth century.² His arguments appeared to leave no room for doubt, and it is little wonder that since 1890 the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorum* has rather generally passed as an opusculum of William of Conches. Let us see, however, if this assurance is justified.

Though it is impossible to determine exactly when the treatise was written, there is good reason for placing its composition within the limits of the twelfth century. The oldest of the sixty-seven surviving Latin MSS date from that period,³ and the sources used by the author of the treatise are those which were readily available before the great acquisitions of new knowledge made by Western Europe in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. There is, for example, no indication that the writer had at his disposal the *Ethics* of Aristotle. Very probably the work should be assigned to the first two thirds of the century. Wernher von Elmen-

¹ *Brunetto Latinos levnet og skrifter*, p. 167.

² *Notices et Extraits de Quelques Manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: 1890), I, 99 ff.

³ There are six MSS which may date from the twelfth century. They are: Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MSS 665, 666, and 669; Paris, B. N., MS. lat. 5137; Cambrai, MS. 977; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS. 210.

dorf is said to have composed his metrical version of it as early as 1171, but an examination of the evidence on which this assertion is based shows that such precision is unwarranted.¹ Giraldus Cambrensis may have been familiar with it between 1177 and 1180, yet here again the evidence is by no means conclusive.² All that one may safely assume is that the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorum* was already well circulated when the thirteenth century opened.

Nor is there any certainty as to the locality in which it originated, though probability points to Northern France. Here are found twenty-six of the Latin MSS and thirty of the French. In no other part of Europe are they so numerous. Yet too much importance is not to be attached to this fact which is largely accounted for by the vast collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The present location of a MS. can by no means be regarded as the place of its origin, and numerical preponderance may be indicative of the area in which the treatise was most popular rather than of the region in which it was written. What seems more significant is that four of the oldest surviving MSS were apparently copied in Northern France. Three of these are now at Rouen. From their presence there, Holmberg, who accepts Hauréau's attribution of authorship to William of Conches, concludes that the treatise must have been written in Normandy.³ In itself, however, this circumstance suggests a general region rather than a definite political division, Northern France rather than Normandy.

In most of the MSS of the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorum* no attempt was made to designate its author. This is particularly noticeable in the oldest. Thus of twenty-two Latin MSS coming from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as far as I have been able to determine, a single one, and that from the late thirteenth century, makes an attribution.⁴ Of thirteen French MSS from the thirteenth

¹ In his poem Wernher expresses his gratitude to 'Diterich . . . der probist von Heligenstat,' who allowed him to use his library. Cf. H. V. Sauerland, 'Wernher von Elmendorf,' in *Zeits. f. D. Alterth. und D. Litt.*, xxx, (Neue Folge, xviii: 1886), 2. E. Schröder in *Anzeiger f. D. Alterth. und D. Litt.*, xvii (1891), 78-79, notes among the witnesses to a charter of 1171 'prepositus in Helegenstat Theodoricus.'

² Warner, Introduction, pp. xiii; xv-xvi.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

century, not one gives the name of the author. The MSS of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, on the other hand, not infrequently attempt to make good the deficiency. So *MS. 86* of Corpus Christi College (xiv century) ascribes the treatise to a Master Guido, B. N., *MS. lat. 13407* (xiv century) to a Master Odo, Bordeaux *MS. 1000* (xiv century) and British Museum, *Royal MS. 8 C. iv* (xiv century) to St. Augustine, while St. Gall *MS. 91* (xv century) attributes it to Cicero himself. Three vernacular MSS also venture to make ascriptions. One is the fragmentary Icelandic translation of the fourteenth century which specifies 'Valtirr af Sallibur.' The other two are French, B. N., *MS. fr. 190* (xv century), designating Jean de Courtecuisse, and British Museum, *Royal MS. 19 C. xi* (xv century), having Jean de Meun translator as well as author.

There survives, however, one statement of mediaeval opinion which is more precise and clear than any of those noted above. This occurs in a preface to the treatise which is found in B. N., *MS. lat. 17811* (xiv century) and in several MSS of the fifteenth century.¹ Admittedly the lateness of the MSS lays this testimony open to suspicion. The words of a fourteenth-century writer can hardly be accepted for events of the twelfth. Yet it is possible that the preface in question is actually much older than the earliest MS. in which it is extant. Accompanying it one finds a letter of dedication from the pen of a certain Bartholomew of Recanati, who revised the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorum* in behalf of Andrea, *Sancti Marci de Venetiis primicerio*.² Although nothing definite can be learned of this Bartholomew, it is probable that he wrote early in the thirteenth century,³ and possibly the preface in question is also his. But whether

¹ Erlangen *MS. 272 (396)* which ascribes the treatise to William of Conches. Of the Latin MSS I have personally inspected sixteen; for five others I rely on Holmberg. For Cambridge, Trinity College, *MS. 1368*, I have only the catalogue to go by: M. R. James, *The Western MSS in the Library of Trinity College* (Cambridge: 1902), III, 378. Of the French MSS I have seen ten. The other three have been inspected by Holmberg.

² For the MSS see Holmberg, pp. 19 ff. To those should be added Vatican, *Reg. lat. MS. 537* (XV century) and probably B. N., *MS. lat. 11120* (xv century). The preface itself is given by Holmberg, pp. 77 ff.

³ The letter of dedication is given by Holmberg, pp. 75-76.

⁴ On the date, see J. Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum* (Venice: 1869), II, 80, MS. 9.

it is or not, it remains an exceedingly valuable piece of testimony, because it devotes some attention to the question of the authorship of the treatise. The pertinent lines are these:

'Magister ergo Galterus, qui Alexandreidem fecit, vel secundum quosdam magister Guilhelmus, qui Henricum, filium comitis Andegavie de Campania Gallica, instruebat, videns quod illud opus Tullianum [the *De Officiis*] erat tamquam pelagus, nec id poterat quilibet de facili habere, istud tamquam manuale specialiter ad illius informationem et generaliter ad utilitatem singulorum legentium compilavit.'¹

It is true that the writer does not know which of the two men he suggests actually composed the treatise. Fortunately, however, both Walter of Châtillon and William of Conches were prominent figures in the intellectual life of the twelfth century and their biographies provide material for testing the probabilities of authorship.

The fact that Walter of Châtillon is mentioned first in this preface together with the attribution to 'Valtirr af Sallibur' in the Icelandic translation led Thor Sundby to conclude that the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorū* was indeed a work of the author of the *Alexandreid*.² There exists, however, no very definite external evidence to support his conclusion. Little positive value can be attached to the enigmatical 'Valtirr af Sallibur.' One finds, to be sure, in Montfaucon's list of the MSS in the library of Queen Christine of Sweden a *Moraliū dogmat. Philosophorū auctore Magistro Galtero*.³ Fortunately this MS. is still available as *Reg. lat. MS. 537* (xv century) of the Vatican. It does indeed contain the treatise under consideration, but as the preface just mentioned precedes it,⁴ the attribution to 'Master Walter' loses any independent significance. No doubt it was also this preface which led the sixteenth-century theologian and controversialist, Van den Bundere (Bunderius) who discovered a MS. of the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorū* at Ghent,⁵ to attribute it to Walter of Châtillon.

¹ Holmberg, p. 77.

² *Brunetto Latinos levnet og skrifter*, p. 167.

³ *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum Nova* (Paris: 1739), I, 16, no. 130.

⁴ Fol. 47^v-48^r.

⁵ See Valery André, *Bibliotheca Belgica* (Antwerp: 1623), p. 66 and p. 462. The ascriptions of the treatise to Walter of Châtillon found in F. Swert, *Athenae Belgicae sive Nomenclator Inferioris Germaniae Scriptorum* (Antwerp: 1628), pp. 642 ff., in G. J. Voss, *De Veterum Poe-*

William of Conches, on the other hand, is designated author in a number of Latin MSS. One of them is the only MS. from the thirteenth century to make an attribution, Erlangen *MS. 272 (396)*,¹ with which M. Hauréau, it may be noted, was not acquainted. William's name is also found in Grenoble *MS. 706* (xv century)² and in Bodleian *MS. 212* (xv century).³ Finally a catalogue of the library of the sixteenth-century jurist, Cujas, shows that he possessed a MS. of the treatise which also ascribed the authorship to William of Conches.⁴

Yet the value of the testimony afforded by these MSS is somewhat dubious. As the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorū* formerly in the library of Cujas is possibly the present Grenoble *MS. 706*,⁵ we can argue with certainty from three MSS only. But two of these date from the fifteenth century, and the name of William of Conches may, therefore, have been suggested by the fourteenth-century preface. The attribution made by the Erlangen MS. is of greater value. Yet too much confidence is not to be reposed even in it, since it is of relatively late date and it stands completely alone. Against it must be placed the silence of twenty-one other Latin MSS of equal or better authority, to say nothing of that of the thirteen French MSS of the same period. Nor can one feel certain that even in this case William's name was put down independently of the oft-cited preface, though on the basis of existing evidence the Erlangen MS. seems to antedate it. Finally the location of the three MSS under consideration is to be noted. Not one of them appears to come

tarum Temporibus Libri Duo (Amsterdam: 1662), p. 74, in J. F. Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica sive Virorum in Belgio Vita Scriptisque Illustrium Catalogus* (Brussels: 1739), II, 1034, in W. Cave, *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Litteraria* (Oxford: 1743), II, 247, and in L. Moréri, *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique* (Paris: 1759), IX, 286, are all based on Van den Bundere.

¹ For a description of the MS., see H. Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen* (Erlangen: Universitätsbibliothek, 1928), I.

² *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France, Départements*, VII (1889), 228.

³ H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS Bibliothecae Bodleianae, Pars Tertia* (Oxford: 1854), p. 202. This collection of excerpts is noted neither by Hauréau nor by Holmberg.

⁴ H. Omont, 'Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Cujas,' in *Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Etranger*, 9^e année (1885), p. 237, no. 85.

⁵ See the editor's comment, *Cat. gén. des MSS*, VII, 228.

from Northern France, where the *Moraliu Dogma Philosophorum*, if it did not originate, at least enjoyed its greatest popularity.

On the whole, then, this external evidence is highly unsatisfactory. The oldest and best MSS are silent as to the authorship. The most complete statement of mediaeval opinion available is found in the fourteenth-century preface which permits us to choose between Walter of Châtillon and William of Conches, two fairly well known writers of the twelfth century. The attribution to the former receives little or no support from other sources; that to the latter fares better, but the amount of the confirmatory evidence is surprisingly small in view of the wealth of MSS. Nor is it possible to determine the exact relation of this testimony to the preface itself, which may, perhaps, go back to the early thirteenth century.

So much for the information obtainable from external sources. It remains to examine the *Moraliu Dogma Philosophorum* itself. But first let us ask just what purpose the author of that treatise had in mind. It is frequently assumed that he had instruction as his primary aim. Even the writer of the fourteenth-century preface is inclined to look upon the work as a manual drawn up by a teacher for his pupil. This is a natural enough assumption for one already convinced that the author was William of Conches acting in his capacity as tutor to young Henry Plantagenet. But the correctness of this assumption remains to be proved, and to be perfectly safe one must judge the intentions of the writer by the content of his treatise.

It may be admitted that the tone of the author frequently becomes magisterial and didactic. In many places he is prone to use an imperative 'beware.'¹ This may, however, be only the result of his close adherence to Cicero and Seneca. Not only does he appropriate their words, but he attempts to imitate the spirit in which they were originally written. At any rate the didactic character is not sufficiently pronounced to preclude a different interpretation of the writer's main intent. There are several reasons for thinking that he was rather concerned with the creation of a summary of certain specified works, than with the compilation of a text-book for a young pupil.

¹ See, for example, Holmberg, pp. 14-22.

In the first place, a letter of dedication which precedes the treatise makes it clear that the work was undertaken, not on the initiative of the author, but at the instigation of the person to whom the letter is addressed.¹ The result cannot, therefore, be regarded as a teacher's offering of essential wisdom to his disciple. As the patron suggested the treatise, he probably defined its scope as well. Several of its most striking peculiarities can thereby be accounted for, the somewhat narrow range of sources at the author's disposal, his strict adherence to classical terminology, and above all, his complete neglect of Christianity and the Church. It will be observed, moreover, that the precepts of the treatise apply to old as well as young,² to all classes of society, unfree as well as free.³ Even the terminology is exceedingly general and non-specific. Thus the word the author prefers for a ruler is *prelatus*, which may designate a great lord or a petty one, a lay ruler, or, in the mediaeval period, at least, an ecclesiastic.⁴ No doubt the term was borrowed from the sources he was following. But why, one is led to ask, should a book specifically prepared to give instruction to a pupil, like young Henry Plantagenet, let us say, persist in this vague and indefinite terminology? The answer appears to be that the author's primary purpose was not instruction but summary.

The most important internal evidence is found in the letter of dedication mentioned above. In the majority of the surviving Latin MSS this is addressed simply to *vir optime et liberalis* in imitation, no doubt, of the *vir optime liberalis* at the opening of Seneca's *De Beneficiis*. But in twelve, at least, this is lengthened to *vir optime et liberalis Henrice*; in five to *vir optime et liberalis R.*⁵ The vernacular MSS omit the *vir optime et liberalis* as well as any name or initial.

That the treatise is specifically dedicated to *Henrice* in a number of MSS is a matter of considerable importance. Though it is possible

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 5 ff. 'Moralium dogma philosophorum per multa dispersum volumina tuo quidem instinctu, vir optime et liberalis, . . . contrahere meditabar.'

² Holmberg, pp. 45-47.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48; 57-59.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 36; 47; 65; 66.

⁵ Holmberg, p. 7, note 3. To the MSS containing the dedication to *Henrice* should be added Vatican, *Reg. lat. MS. 537* (xv century).

that the name was added by a copyist, its appearance in two of the oldest MSS argues strongly for its genuineness. M. Hauréau, who was aware that the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorum* was attributed to William of Conches by at least two MSS, made a great deal of this dedication to *Henrice*, for William is known to have acted as tutor to the young Henry Plantagenet. Not only does our fourteenth-century preface testify to this fact, but William's principal work, the *Dragmaticon Philosophiae*, which is dedicated to Geoffrey of Anjou, Henry's father,¹ also implies this relationship. To be sure the *R* which takes the place of *Henrice* in a few MSS raises difficulties, but M. Hauréau found a way around them. The original dedication, he opined, was *vir optime et liberalis Rex Henrice*. Ingenious though such an explanation may be, there is little to recommend its acceptance. In no MS. does one find an *R. Henrice*. The discrepancy is more plausibly accounted for as scribal error. *Henrice* may well have been cut down to an *H*, which some scribe mistook for *R*.

Unfortunately the chronological limits of William's connection with the Angevin court cannot be determined. Dedicated to Geoffrey as Duke of Normandy, his *Dragmaticon* must have been written between 1144 and 1150.² This work, it should be noted, constitutes the last definite trace we have of William of Conches. We know neither when nor where he died. Writing in 1159 John of Salisbury implies that his former master is no longer living,³ and it is possible that his death occurred in 1154⁴ or earlier. When did he act as tutor to Henry? In all probability it was between the end of 1146 and the spring of 1149, that is to say, while Henry was from thirteen to sixteen years old.⁵

¹ See R. L. Poole, 'The Masters of the Schools at Paris and Chartres in John of Salisbury's Time,' in *English Historical Review*, xxxv (1920), 333-335.

² See C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), p. 130. R. L. Poole believes, however, that Henry may have been made Duke of Normandy before April, 1149. Cf. 'Henry II, Duke of Normandy,' in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xlii (1927), 560-572.

³ *Metalogicon* (ed. C. C. J. Webb, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), I, 24.

⁴ Cf. R. L. Poole, *Illustrations*, p. 111, note 25.

⁵ Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

But the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorū* was not necessarily written while William was still Henry's tutor. As has been noted, the work itself does not require such a relationship between writer and patron. Hauréau implies that the date of composition was *ca.* 1154. This conclusion is based on the reference to a *vehemens tumultus huius perniciosissime sedicionis* in the letter of dedication, which, he held, must have been the nine-months struggle between Henry and Stephen of Blois for the English throne. There is, however, little to recommend this date. *Sedicio* does not seem to be the appropriate term for such a conflict. More aptly might it be applied to other struggles in the young Plantagenet's career, to one of 1152, for example, when he had to face a coalition of foes, prominent among them his own brother, Geoffrey, or to the plot of Stephen's Flemish mercenaries to murder him in 1154. In short, there were altogether too many conflicts during Henry's troubled youth to allow any definite conclusion as to time to be attached to the vague *sedicio* of the letter of dedication. In this connection, it is worthy of note that the French translator failed to see a military conflict in this passage at all.¹

The conclusion of the letter of dedication varies in the MSS. In a majority of them it breaks off abruptly with the words, 'Videmus enim, quod licet temporis necessitas ad flagitia te pertrahat, mens tua contradicit et reclamat.' In at least twelve, however, of which two date from the twelfth century, a sentence follows this: 'Presentis doctrine expressa mihi in te uno occurrit imago; quocirca vehementer compator tibi, imo tue odisoa morbi pressura lacessite liberalitati.'² The sentence was substantially carried over into French by the translator.³ Possibly it represents the work of a copyist, though

¹ Holmberg, p. 92. The translator's words are: 'Mais ie cuit que vous metez mout grant entente a mener honeste vie et tant i entendez que la tumulte ne l'angoisse de ceste terrienne vie ne vous puet tollir la volenté de vivre honestement . . .'

² Holmberg, p. 6. The twelve MSS are: Rouen, *MS. 665* (xii century); Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, *MS. 210* (late xii or early xiii century); Paris, B.N., *MSS. lat. 5137* (xii century), *15693* (xiii century), *15829* (xiii century), *16581* (xiii century), *17811* (xiv century); Brussels, B. R., *MS. 2900* (xiii century); British Museum, *Royal MS. 10 A. xii* (xiii century), *Royal MS. 8 C. iv* (xiv century), *Royal MS. 8 A. xiii* (xv century), *Additional MS. 16376* (xv century). Though there are variations in these MSS, the wording is substantially the same.

this is unlikely, since it is found in two of the oldest MSS, and it is difficult to see what purpose a scribe might have discovered for fabricating it. There is, moreover, exactly as good reason for considering it genuine as for accepting the dedication to *Henrice*.

M. Hauréau was apparently unacquainted with the MSS in which this final sentence occurs. Yet it is not without importance. From it one implies that 'Henry' is suffering from some sort of malady for which the author wishes to express his sympathy. The argument for the authorship of William of Conches would undoubtedly be strengthened if it could be demonstrated that Henry Plantagenet was the victim of poor health in the period from 1144 to 1154. To judge from the prince's tireless activity this can hardly have been the case, though it is possible that he had minor ailments. The illness of the letter of dedication would seem to be of somewhat serious character. A trivial disorder would scarcely be deserving of the author's attention.

On the whole M. Hauréau appears to have deduced more from the letter of dedication than is really there. He assures us, for example, that the patron was a man who had the care of numerous affairs, 'public, private, judicial, domestic.' Yet the only basis for such an assertion is a quotation from the *De Officiis* which emphasizes the importance of moral philosophy in every walk of life. As the words are not the author's they are to be taken in a general sense and are not to be understood as descriptive of the position of the patron.

The fact is that the evidence contained in this letter is exceedingly flexible and indecisive. A conflict is mentioned, but it is impossible to determine when it was or what it was about. Even the dedication to 'Henry,' unaccompanied as it is by titles, is vague to say the least. Henry was a not uncommon name in the twelfth century. Though Henry Plantagenet may have been one of the greatest patrons of letters that his age produced,¹ dedications to other Henrys

² Holmberg, p. 92: 'Et por ce me prent il grant pitié (de vous et) de vostre grant franchise qui est deboutee et correchie dedenz vous per l'angoisse de si grant enfermeté. Por ce vous voudrai ie donner profitable conseil au cuer et au cors.'

¹ On Henry's patronage of letters see C. H. Haskins, 'Henry II as a Patron of Literature,' in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout* (Manchester, 1925), pp. 71-77.

are by no means out of the question. Henry the Liberal, Count of Champagne (1152-1181), for example, was also devoted to learning and proved himself a munificent benefactor of scholars.¹ There is, to be sure, nothing to indicate that Henry the Liberal was the *liberalis Henrice* of the letter of dedication, but the greater pre-eminence of Henry Plantagenet should not preclude the consideration of such a possibility.

Yet the ambiguous character of the evidence given by the letter of dedication is most strikingly shown in the fact that it may be made to support equally well, if not better, a rival claimant to the authorship. Walter of Châtillon received scant attention from M. Hauréau, even though he is mentioned before William of Conches in the fourteenth-century preface. While it must be admitted that there is little external evidence to support his authorship, it is, to say the least, a remarkable coincidence that he satisfies with considerable precision the conditions imposed by the letter of dedication.

He too might have addressed a patron named Henry. Although his principal work, the *Alexandreid*, is dedicated to William of the White Hands, archbishop of Rheims from 1176 to 1202, Walter appears to have been in the service of William's predecessor, Henry of France, brother of King Louis VII. One of his shorter poems which celebrates William's translation from Sens to Rheims implies his connection with the latter city.² Moreover John of Salisbury writing from Rheims in 1166 mentions a 'Master Walter, clerk of the archbishop.'³ M. Hauréau himself was thoroughly convinced that this clerk was none other than the poet, Walter of Châtillon.⁴

Little can be learned of the intellectual interests of Archbishop Henry of France. During his youth he had been a monk at Clairvaux and one may reasonably assume that his views of life conformed to the markedly austere standards of St Bernard. Leaving the

¹ H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des Ducs et des Comtes de Champagne* (Paris: 1861), III, 184 ff.

² K. Strecker, *Die Gedichte Walters von Chatillon* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925), No. 30, pp. 55-56.

³ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, cxc, 159.

⁴ See his article, 'Notice sur un Manuscrit de la Reine Christine à la Bibliothèque du Vatican,' in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, xxix (1886), part 2, 298.

cloister in 1144 to become bishop of Beauvais, he had in 1162 been elevated to the metropolitan see of Rheims.¹ Certainly he was no great patron of letters. At the same time there is nothing to indicate that he was actually hostile to them. Among his friends and correspondents were Nicholas of Clairvaux² and Philip of Harvengt.³ We know, too, that he gave several of the followers of the exiled Becket asylum at Rheims, where they were allowed to teach in the schools.⁴

Closer inspection of the affairs of this archbishop brings to light several significant facts. While John of Salisbury was at Rheims in 1167 Henry was confronted with a dangerous uprising of the restless citizens and canons of Rheims.⁵ Might this not have been the *vehemens tumultus huius perniciosissime sedicionis* to which the author of the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorum* refers? At least there can be no doubt as to the terminology, since John of Salisbury expressly calls the revolt *seditio*. We learn from various sources, moreover, that the archbishop handled the rebels with a severity and ruthlessness which evoked universal protest,⁶ a circumstance suggestive of the words, 'Videmus enim, quod licet temporis necessitas ad flagitia te pertrahat, mens tua contradicit et reclamatur,' which may represent a polite attempt on the writer's part to gloss over the behavior of his patron.

Finally Henry's career furnishes a plausible explanation of the condolences which stand at the end of the letter of dedication. Though it is impossible to trace the state of the archbishop's health year by year, it is certain that it was at times precarious. While he

¹ A brief account of Henry is given in *Gallia Christiana*, ix, 88 ff.

² *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, xvi, 172, no. iv.

³ *Ibid.*, 179, no. lii; 195, no. clxxvi; 196, no. clxxvii.

⁴ Ralph de Serre, for example, mentioned by Herbert of Bosham as one of the 'eruditi' of Thomas became dean of Rheims. A thirteenth-century MS. of Peter Cantor's *Summa de Sacramentis* (B. N., *MS. lat. 14521*, fol. 78) speaks of Philip de Caune, also mentioned by Herbert, as teaching at Rheims.

⁵ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, c1c, 249, no. ccxxii (Ad Joannem Episcopum Pictaviensem): '. . . et in urbe Remensi orta seditio sic turbavit provinciam, ut vix tutum fuerit ingredi vel egredi civitatem.'

⁶ See the letter of John of Salisbury just cited and also the letters of Alexander III in *Rec. des Hist.*, xv, 855-856, nos. ccviii and ccix.

was still a monk at Clairvaux, illness compelled him to change his residence to the monastery of Regny in the diocese of Auxerre.¹ Again, in 1164, he seems to have been on the point of death. One of his letters to Louis VII explains that he has been forced to take to his bed at Paris.² The same illness is the burden of a letter of Alexander III, who was then at Sens. The Pope expresses his sympathy for Henry and even offers to come to his bedside.³ The character of this malady is not made clear. The archbishop may have recovered from it long before the rebellion of 1167. Yet the prominence of ill health in the scanty annals of his personal life is not devoid of significance when taken together with the condolences of the author of the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorū*. It may be added that Henry died in 1175, scarcely at the end of middle age.⁴

On the basis of probability there is little to choose between Henry of France and Henry Plantagenet. That the middle-aged prelate should have been curious as to the ethical teachings of the classical philosophers is certainly no more remarkable than that similar interest should have been displayed by the youthful prince with his days full of military and administrative problems. But however that may be, my main purpose is to demonstrate that the evidence contained in this letter of dedication lacks much of the positive value which M. Hauréau attributed to it. Ambiguous and vague, no single conclusion can safely be based upon it. It can be made to support the claims to authorship of more than one man. While it lends plausibility to those of William of Conches, it yields even stronger argument for those of Walter of Châtillon. Evidence of such flexibility can hardly serve as a foundation for definitive results.

It now remains to examine the body of the treatise itself. Covered with quotations from classical sources, its pages do not promise much information as to its author. Yet original material is not

¹ See the letter of Nicholas of Clairvaux cited above, p. 27, note 1.

² *Rec. des Hist.*, xvi, 105, no. cccxxix.

³ *Ibid.*, xv, 826, no. clv.

⁴ Henry was the third son of Louis VI, being born next after the one who became Louis VII. Hence the date of his birth was later than 1120-1121.

entirely absent from them. Many of the definitions of the virtues and vices described are apparently the writer's own. Nor did he refrain entirely from giving explanations and making comments. Moreover the very passages which he singled out to quote may, to a limited degree, be taken as significant of his personal views and prejudices.

It may be admitted that the classical background of the treatise is entirely consistent with the grammarian William of Conches. There are, however, certain features of the work which do not so well agree with what we know of him. One of the most prominent of William's peculiarities was a violent antipathy for the group of teachers known as the Cornificians. This dislike is frequently expressed in his own writings and it is also noted by his contemporaries.¹ William belonged to that old-fashioned school of pedagogy which followed the slow but exceedingly thorough methods of Bernard of Chartres. The Cornificians, on the other hand, ridiculed this laborious system of education and promised their followers quick and easy short cuts to learning. Instead of years, a student need spend only a few months in acquiring what was essential to worldly advancement.

Now while the classical sources on which the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorū* rests may suggest the old-fashioned methods of the School of Chartres, its aim and spirit are certainly more indicative of Cornifician than of Bernard. Not only is it a short cut to moral philosophy, but its author was proud of that fact. He congratulates his reader that in these few pages he may find nearly all that is best in the writings of the moral philosophers without the trouble of going through those writings themselves.² Surely an inconsistent attitude for William of Conches! And the author's point of view

¹ For examples of William's denunciation of the Cornificians, see Poole, *Illustrations*, Appendix VII, pp. 312-314. John of Salisbury dwells upon this hostility in *Metalogicon*, I, 24. My argument loses all point if John's words 'impetu multitudinis imperitae victi, cesserunt' are interpreted to mean that Richard l'Evêque and William of Conches yielded to the Cornificians, that is, adopted their methods. But Mr. Poole's arguments for interpreting the passage to mean that they 'withdrew from the field' seem convincing.

² Holmberg, p. 73: 'Fere enim omnia moralium doctorum elegantiora verba hec angusta particula comprehendit. Unde hic facilius intueri ea poteris, quam si per multorum volumina vagando dispersa colligeres.'

in general is utilitarian rather than scholarly. The *auctores* are mustered to advocate concentration on a few points rather than wide reading, little of which can be retained by the memory.¹ Seneca especially is adduced to urge familiarity with a few useful facts rather than the acquisition of a mass of useless knowledge — ‘Non enim refert quam multa sciat, si scit quantum victoriae satis est.’² It is difficult indeed to imagine old-fashioned William of Conches citing the very passages from the *auctores* that might lend support to the methods of his most bitter enemies. Could John of Salisbury have thought of him in 1159 as the vigorous champion of the old system, if he was in fact the author of the treatise under consideration?

Still another difficulty requires explanation. Although it is as a grammarian that John of Salisbury usually refers to him, William is best known as the author of the *De Philosophia Mundi* and the *Dragmaticon*, works which seek to elucidate the wonders of the natural world. It has been noted by Holmberg that in view of his devotion to natural philosophy, William must have exceeded the ordinary limits of his interests in composing such a treatise as the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorū*.³ But there appears to be more than a general inconsistency here. Though it is difficult to determine exactly what the author of this compendium thought of the phenomena of the natural world, on one occasion, at least, he displays slight respect for those who investigate them. Following closely the *De Officiis*, he states, ‘Est enim curiositas non magne utilitatis operam impendere, sicuti si relictā morali philosophiā astrologiā vel abacum vel geometriā studiōse legas.’ Then he proceeds to quote a passage from the *De Beneficiis* which is anything but complimentary to natural philosophy as it was understood by William of Conches: ‘Licet nescias quae ratio oceanum effundat, quid sit quod gemellorum conceptum separet, partum iungat, cur simul natis fata diversa sint: non multum tibi nocebit transire quod nec licet scire, nec prodest.’⁴ A glance through the *De Philosophia*

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5; pp. 73–74.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³ Holmberg, p. 8.

⁴ Holmberg, p. 11.

Mundi and the *Dragmaticon* will show that William of Conches devoted much time and space to just such topics. Consequently it is remarkable to find him complacently quoting Seneca to the effect that such matters are of little importance and that interest in them is idle curiosity.

Unfortunately the treatise affords slight opportunity for argument either for or against the authorship of Walter of Châtillon, whose preferences and prejudices seem to have been less pronounced than those of William of Conches. Although he was co-author, with a certain Baldwin of Valenciennes, of a prose diatribe against the Jews, Walter's true genius lay in the field of Latin poetry. Such an interest is entirely consistent with the author of the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorū* in which the Roman poets figure nearly as prominently as Cicero and Seneca. But beyond this we can scarcely go. There is no evidence to show whether Walter shared William's dislike for the Cornificians, or whether he was adverse to the creation of short cuts to learning. Nor are we able to determine his attitude towards natural philosophy. Arguments from silence are however always dangerous and we must not attach too great significance to what we cannot find out. The most that can be said is that the general and specific characteristics of the treatise are not strikingly inconsistent with what little is known of Walter of Châtillon.

The problem of authorship, then, is by no means as simple as it is made to appear in M. Hauréau's article of 1890. The difficulties arise not so much from the dearth of evidence as from the uncertain value of such evidence as exists. Though a number of mediaeval scribes took pains to give the treatise an author, the surviving attributions are without exception of late date, the earliest as far as can be definitely determined, going back only to the end of the thirteenth century. It is indeed a disconcerting fact that the farther back one goes the less external evidence bearing on the problem of authorship one finds, despite the comparatively large number of MSS from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nor is the internal evidence more satisfactory. The letter of dedication on which M. Hauréau based so much is particularly disappointing. The information that can be deduced from it is too limited in quantity and too

indefinite in quality to point to any single conclusion. While some inferences of a negative sort may be drawn from the treatise itself, its possibilities are greatly limited by its nature as a summary.

In view of the doubtful character of this evidence is it possible to accept without qualification either William of Conches or Walter of Châtillon as the author of the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorū*? The arguments in favor of the one seem to be nearly exactly balanced by those in favor of the other. While William's authorship is supported by a number of external sources, Walter's lacks such corroboration. On the other hand, the references contained in the letter of dedication, though applicable to William's relations with Henry Plantagenet, fit with greater precision the vicissitudes of the career of Walter's patron, Henry of France. Moreover certain features of the treatise itself seem flatly contradictory to the known prejudices and interests of William of Conches, while they do not appear to conflict with those of Walter of Châtillon. Yet it is not my purpose to champion one of these men against the other. Rather is it to emphasize the uncertain nature of the data from which authorship must be deduced. It may be that neither the grammarian nor the poet had anything to do with the treatise. We are obliged however to work from such material as is available and from this these two men seem to deserve particular consideration. Possibly the difficulties of establishing the identity of the author were not unknown to the majority of mediaeval scribes, who were willing to allow the treatise to circulate anonymously. Thus they wisely prevented false deductions from purely conjectural attributions of authorship. New evidence may of course come to light. For the time being, however, the *Moraliū Dogma Philosophorū* should not be unreservedly ascribed to anyone.

PLAN FOR THE PUBLICATION OF A
CORPUS COMMENTARIORUM AVERROIS
IN *ARISTOTELEM*

SUBMITTED TO THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

By HARRY A. WOLFSON

AVERROES AS A NATURALIZED HEBREW AND LATIN AUTHOR

BIBLIOGRAPHERS, by the practice of their profession, will always list Averroes among Arabic authors. But if there is a process of naturalization in literature corresponding to that in citizenship, the writings of Averroes belong not so much to the language in which they were written as to the language into which they were translated and through which they exerted their influence upon the course of the world's philosophy. In the original Arabic the career of Averroism was brief. It came to an end with the abrupt disappearance of philosophic activity among the Arabic-speaking peoples, which synchronizes with the death of Averroes. Arabic philosophy, unlike Hebrew and Latin, did not enjoy a fruitful though declining old age. It was cut off in its prime through untoward political conditions. Among his own people Averroes left no disciples to continue his teachings nor an active opposition to keep them alive. His name, it has been pointed out by Renan, is not even mentioned in the standard Arabic works of biography.¹ Of his commentaries on Aristotle about one third is lost in the original language, and of those extant the number of manuscripts is very small and a considerable part of them are written in Hebrew characters and have been preserved by Jews. Most of the manuscripts in Arabic characters had been unknown until very recently, when they were dug up in oriental libraries. As to a literature dealing with the texts and the teachings of Averroes' commentaries, there is hardly a trace of it in Arabic.

The tremendous influence which Averroes' commentaries on Aristotle had upon the history of Western philosophy was achieved through the Hebrew and Latin translations.

The first Hebrew translation of an Averroian commentary on Aris-

¹ Cf. Renan, *Averroès et Averroïsme*, p. 36 ff.

total appeared in 1232, the last in 1321. Within the intervening period of eighty-nine years, the translation of the entire set of the commentaries was completed, and four of the more important ones were translated twice. Eleven translators are connected with this task: Jacob Anatolio, Jacob ben Machir Ibn Tibbon, Kalonymus ben Kalonymus, Moses ben Samuel Ibn Tibbon, Moses ben Solomon of Beaucaire, Samuel ben Judah of Marseilles, Shem-Tob ben Isaac of Tortosa, Solomon Ibn Ayyub, Todros Todrosi, Zerariah Gracian, and one whose name is not known. The bulk of the work, however, was done by Moses ben Samuel Ibn Tibbon (flourished between 1240 and 1283) and Kalonymus ben Kalonymus (1286- after 1328).

The popularity which these commentaries enjoyed among Jews is attested by the great number of manuscript copies that are extant to the present day — as, e.g., about twenty of the Epitome of the *Physics*, about eighteen of the Epitome of *De Caelo*, about thirty-six of the Middle Commentary on *De Caelo*, and about twenty-five of the Epitome of *Parva Naturalia*. The intensive study of these commentaries, which was pursued by individual scholars as well as by organized classes in schools, gave rise to critical and interpretative works which may be here referred to indiscriminately as supercommentaries. There are such supercommentaries on almost every commentary of Averroes, the only exceptions being the Epitomes of the *Metaphysics* and Plato's *Republic*, the Middle Commentary on *Meteorologica*, and all of the Long Commentaries. On some of the commentaries there is more than one supercommentary, as, e.g., about a dozen each on the Middle Commentaries of the *Organon* and *Physics*, five on the Middle Commentary of *De Anima*, and four on the Middle Commentary of the *Metaphysics*. The writing of these supercommentaries continued for about three centuries, from the beginning of the fourteenth to about the end of the sixteenth. Some of the greatest names in Jewish philosophy are represented among the supercommentators, such as Narboni, Gersonides, and various members of the Shem-Tob family.

Besides these direct supercommentaries on Averroes, literary ma-

terial relevant to the study of Averroes' teachings is to be found in almost every Hebrew philosophic text produced since the early part of the thirteenth century. Beginning with Samuel Ibn Tibbon's commentary on the *Book of Ecclesiastes*, to which a translation of some of Averroes' treatises on the Intellect is appended — and this before the appearance of the first translation of a commentary of Averroes in 1232 — there is not a book in Jewish philosophy in which the views of Averroes are not discussed or in which some passage of his writings is not quoted or paraphrased, analyzed, interpreted, and criticized. An example of the use made of the writings of Averroes by independent Hebrew authors and of its importance for the study of Averroes may be found in Crescas' *Or Adonai*.¹

The Latin translations of Averroes' commentaries began at about the same time as the Hebrew, in 1230. Three names are connected with this activity, those of Michael Scot, Hermann the German, and William de Lunis. Among them they translated eleven (see below p. 419) out of the twenty-nine titles into which we shall divide all of Averroes' commentaries.

The incompleteness of the early Latin translations of Averroes, the loss of the original Arabic texts of his commentaries, the spurious views attributed to Averroes by the so-called Averroists, and the fact that Hebrew literature, through translations, had fallen heir to the entire tradition of Arabic philosophy — all this tended to make European scholars dependent upon Hebrew for a complete and accurate knowledge of Averroes. When, therefore, in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, new translations of Averroes were undertaken, they were all made from the Hebrew. In this new effort, the task of translating Averroes into Latin was almost completed, some of his commentaries were translated two or three times, and in a few instances they were supplemented by translations of Gersonides' supercommentaries. The names of these new translators are Elijah Delmedigo (Haelia Cretensis), Jacob Mantino, Abraham de Balmes, Paul Israelita (Ricius or Riccius), Vital Nissus, and Giovanni Francisco Burana.

¹ Cf. the writer's *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle*, 'Index of Passages,' pp. 741-743.

INVENTORY OF AVERROES' COMMENTARIES

There is no authoritative contemporary record as to the number of commentaries written by Averroes. Whatever we know about it has been gathered by modern scholars, particularly Steinschneider, from a study of the extant manuscripts and printed editions in the various languages, particularly Hebrew MSS. Averroes is known to have written his commentaries on all the works of Aristotle accessible to him, including also the *Isagoge* of Porphyry and the *Republic* of Plato, the latter of which took the place of Aristotle's *Politics*. In some instances his commentaries are found in three forms, the Epitome, the Middle, and the Long, the first of these not being really a commentary in the true sense of the term. In most instances, however, his commentaries are found in two forms, the Epitome and the Middle. In three instances there is only the Epitome, in one instance there is only the Middle, and in another instance only the Long.

The following is a complete list of Averroes' commentaries:

<i>Organon</i>	<i>De Caelo</i>
Epitome	13. Epitome
1. <i>Isagoge</i>	14. Middle
2. <i>Categories</i> and <i>De Interpretatione</i>	<i>De Generatione et Corruptione</i>
3. <i>Prior</i> and <i>Posterior Analytics</i> , <i>Topics</i> and <i>Sophistic Elenchi</i>	15. Epitome
4. <i>Rhetoric</i> and <i>Poetics</i>	16. Middle
Middle	<i>Meteorologica</i>
5. <i>Isagoge</i>	17. Epitome
6. <i>Categories</i> and <i>De Interpretatione</i>	18. Middle
7. <i>Prior</i> and <i>Posterior Analytics</i> , <i>Topics</i> and <i>Sophistic Elenchi</i>	<i>De Plantis</i>
8. <i>Rhetoric</i> and <i>Poetics</i>	19. Long
Long	<i>De Animalibus</i> (= <i>De Partibus Animalium</i> and <i>De Generatione Animalium</i>)
9. <i>Posterior Analytics</i> ¹	20. Epitome
<i>Physics</i>	<i>De Anima</i>
10. Epitome	21. Epitome
11. Middle	22. Middle
12. Long	23. Long

¹ In Averroes' commentaries items 1-9 form one book, the *Organon*. I have subdivided them into groups in order to get a common denominator for a comparison of the number of texts extant in Arabic, Hebrew and Latin.

<i>Parva Naturalia</i> (including only <i>De Sensu et Sensibili, Memoria et Reminiscencia, De Somno et Vigilia, and De Longitudine et Brevitate Vitae</i>)	26. Middle
24. Epitome	27. Long
<i>Metaphysics</i>	<i>Nicomachean Ethics</i>
25. Epitome	28. Middle
	<i>Plato's Republic</i>
	29. Epitome

This enumeration of the commentaries of Averroes is based upon Steinschneider's discussion in *Die Hebräischen Uebersetzungen*, pp. 49-227. No mention is made there of a Long Commentary on *De Caelo*. Munk, on the other hand, mentions such a commentary in his *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, p. 433, without giving, however, any further information about it. Munk's statement seems to be responsible for similar statements by Renan, *Averroès et L'Averroïsme*, p. 62, Carra de Vaux, 'Averroes, Averroism,' in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* II, p. 262, and 'Ibn Rushd' in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* II, p. 411, Ueberweg-Baumgartner, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie* II, p. 381, and in almost every general work of reference.

The basis of Munk's statement is evidently the Juntine edition of *Aristotelis omnia quae extant opera*, Venice 1552, which is referred to by him previously on the same page. The *De Caelo* in that edition contains two commentaries of Averroes, one of which is printed with the text and is described as follows: 'Averrois in Libros de Caelo cum eius textu Commentarii.' To any student of Averroes the commentary would seem to be the Long one, especially since the Middle Commentary is printed separately at the end of the book and is described as 'Paraphrasis eosdem, seorsum quidem posita, iuxta tamen ipsius commentarios divisa.' In the Comino de Tridino edition of *Aristotelis . . . omnia quae extant opera*, Venice 1560, these two commentaries are combined and printed together with the text, and are introduced by the description 'cum utraque Aver. Cordub. expositione, Paraphrasi videlicet, et commentario.' It will be noticed, however, that the commentary is not described in either edition as 'magna.' Elsewhere in the Juntine edition when the commentary is the Long one, as in the *Posterior Analytics* and the *Physics*, it is definitely described as 'magna.' In the case of the *Meta-*

physics and the *De Anima*, where the word 'magna' is not used, it may be doubted whether the commentaries in question are the 'magnae,' or, at least, whether they are the 'magnae' *only*. Furthermore, the same commentary on *De Caelo* is to be found also in the Andrea Torresanus edition of Aristotle, Venice 1483, where it is described in the colophon as 'nova translatio.' This would seem to mean that it is a new Latin translation, probably from the Hebrew, of the same commentary of which there had previously existed an old thirteenth century Latin translation made from the Arabic. Now, the old Latin translation of Averroes' commentary on *De Caelo* was the 'media.' This new translation may therefore be nothing but another version of the 'media' enlarged, perhaps, by the inclusion of the Epitome and maybe also of Avicenna's paraphrase of the *De Caelo*. The plural 'commentarii' by which it is described in the Juntine edition would seem to point to its composite nature.

But as against this supposition, we have in London a Hebrew MS., *Bet ha-Midrash 41*, which according to a superscription at the beginning of Book I is the Long Commentary on *De Caelo*. Such superscriptions, to be sure, are often wrong, and Steinschneider, who had not examined the MS. personally but is evidently following Neubauer, disregards it and includes the work among the Middle Commentaries (see *Die Hebräischen Uebersetzungen*, p. 128, n. 143^b). Still, it may actually be a long commentary and perhaps the text underlying our Latin translation. Should this prove to be really the Middle, it is still possible that a Long *De Caelo* may turn up in some of the uncatalogued collections of Hebrew MSS, just as the single known copy of the Long *De Anima* turned up in a private collection after Steinschneider had listed it as lost (see *ibid.*, pp. 150-151).

The matter deserves investigation along the lines indicated.

Steinschneider's work may also be used as a guide to the location of the MSS of the Hebrew translations of Averroes' commentaries as well as of the MSS of the original Arabic texts in Hebrew characters and of the MSS of the Hebrew supercommentaries. Steinschneider has made use of almost all the public and private collections of Hebrew MSS known in his time. The only two collections which he seems to have left out are those of Spain and the Cambridge Uni-

versity Library. Since his time, however, many Hebrew MSS of Averroes have been acquired by Professor Alexander Marx for the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary from sources unknown to Steinschneider. There are likewise several Hebrew MSS of Averroes in the Columbia University Library which are not recorded by Steinschneider.

Certain translations and supercommentaries are given by Steinschneider as anonymous. In some instances he tries to identify them. It is not unlikely that when all the MSS are brought together and carefully studied, the identification of a great many of these anonymous works will become possible and some of Steinschneider's identifications may have to be revised. A few illustrations of what can be done in that direction may be found in the writer's paper 'Isaac ben Shem-Tob's Unknown Commentaries on the *Physics* and His Other Unknown Works' in *Freidus Memorial Volume* (1929), pp. 279-290.

Of the twenty-nine titles of Averroes' commentaries which we have in Hebrew, twenty are extant in the original Arabic. Of these, ten are written in Arabic characters, five in Hebrew characters, and five both in Arabic and in Hebrew characters. The nine commentaries which are lost in the original Arabic are as follows:¹

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Middle <i>Isagoge</i> | 5. Epitome of <i>De Animalibus</i> |
| 2. Long <i>Posterior Analytics</i> | 6. Long <i>De Anima</i> |
| 3. Middle <i>Physics</i> (only a fragment of 10 leaves is extant) | 7. Middle <i>Metaphysics</i> |
| 4. Long <i>Physics</i> (only a couple of doubtful passages are extant) | 8. Middle <i>Nicomachean Ethics</i> |
| | 9. Epitome of Plato's <i>Republic</i> |

The Old Latin translations directly from the Arabic contain eleven out of the twenty-nine titles, namely:²

¹ Information about the Averroes' commentaries extant in the original Arabic is to be found in P. M. Bouyges' *Notes sur les Philosophes Arabes connus des Latins au Moyen Age. V. Inventaire des textes arabes d'Averroes*. Beyrouth, 1922.

² See Steinschneider, "Die europäischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Arabischen," pp. 33, 56-7, and 80 in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 149 (1905). Steinschneider does not say that items 1, 2, and 7 are the Middle (see *op. cit.* p. 80). But this may be established by the incipits quoted by him. A Latin translation of Averroes' Proem to the *Physics* was made by Theodoric (see *op. cit.*, p. 78).

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Isagoge</i> : Middle | 6. <i>Meteorologica</i> : Middle (only Book IV) |
| 2. <i>Categories</i> and <i>De Interpretatione</i> : Middle | 7. <i>De Anima</i> : Middle |
| 3. <i>Rhetoric</i> and <i>Poetics</i> : Middle | 8. <i>De Anima</i> : Long |
| 4. <i>De Caelo</i> : Middle | 9. <i>De Sensu et Sensato</i> : Epitome |
| 5. <i>De Generatione et Corruptione</i> : probably Middle | 10. <i>Metaphysics</i> : Long |
| | 11. <i>Nicomachean Ethics</i> : Middle |

Of Elijah Delmedigo's translations we have the following:

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Meteorologica</i> : Epitome | 3. <i>Metaphysics</i> I-VII: Middle |
| 2. <i>Meteorologica</i> : Middle (only a fragment) | 4. Proem to Long <i>Metaphysics</i> |

The sixteenth century editions of Aristotle's works by the Juntas and Comino de Tridino contain the following Latin translations of Averroes' commentaries:

<i>Organon</i>	Long (?)
Epitome	<i>De Generatione et Corruptione</i>
<i>Isagoge</i>	Epitome
<i>Categories</i> and <i>De Interpretatione</i>	Middle
<i>Prior</i> and <i>Posterior Analytics</i>	<i>Meteorologica</i>
<i>Topics</i> and <i>Sophistic Elenchi</i>	Epitome
<i>Rhetoric</i> and <i>Poetics</i>	Middle
Middle	[No <i>De Plantis</i> , Long]
<i>Isagoge</i>	<i>De Animalibus</i>
<i>Categories</i> and <i>De Interpretatione</i>	Epitome
<i>Prior</i> and <i>Posterior Analytics</i> ,	<i>De Anima</i>
<i>Topics</i> (Books I-IV have two translations) and <i>Sophistic Elenchi</i>	Middle
<i>Rhetoric</i> and <i>Poetics</i>	Long (?)
Long	<i>Parva Naturalia</i>
<i>Posterior Analytics</i> (Part of Book I has three translations; part of Book I and the whole of Book II have two translations.)	Epitome (The Comino de Tridino edition has the phrase 'cum Averrois Paraphrasi' also after <i>De Divinatione per Somnum</i> , <i>De Iuventute et Senectute</i> , <i>De Vita et Morte</i> , and <i>De Respiratione</i> . Averroes has no commentaries on these works of the <i>Parva Naturalia</i> .)
<i>Physics</i>	<i>Metaphysics</i>
[No Epitome]	Epitome
Middle (only Books I-III. But there is another Latin translation completed in 1500 which exists in MS. form in Paris. See Renan, <i>Averroès. et Averroïsme</i> , p. 382.)	Middle Books I-VII
Long (?) ¹	Long (?)
<i>De Caelo</i>	<i>Nicomachean Ethics</i>
[No Epitome]	Middle
Middle	Plato's <i>Republic</i>
	Epitome

¹ I have put question marks after every 'Long' for reasons explained in the next paragraph.

This list is based upon an examination of the contents of the Juntine edition of 1573–1576 (which is the same as that of 1552) and the Comino de Tridino edition of 1560. Several points still need to be cleared up. To begin with, in the case of the commentaries where the names of the translators are not given, one is at a loss to know whether they are new translations or only reproductions of the Old Translations, or, perhaps, the Old Translations revised. Again, the superscriptions on these commentaries are inconsistent and often misleading. In the Juntine edition, for instance, seven of the commentaries are described as 'Paraphrasis,' three by Jacob Mantino (*Poetics, De Partibus Animalium, Plato's Republic*), one by Abraham de Balmes (*Rhetoric*), one by Paul Israelita (*De Caelo*), one by Vital Nissus (*De Generatione et Corruptione*) and one by an anonymous translator (*De Sensu et Sensato*) — probably belonging to the Old Latin translations. Upon a close examination and after a comparison with the Hebrew, I have found that in the case of Mantino, Nissus, and the anonymous translator the term 'Paraphrasis' stands for the Epitome, whereas in the case of Abraham de Balmes and Paul Israelita it stands for the Middle Commentary. A similar inconsistency is also to be found in the Comino de Tridino edition. Again, the commentary on the *Meteorologica* is described as 'Media Expositio.' From a comparison with the underlying Hebrew version, which I made some years ago in connection with Prof. F. H. Fobes' studies of the *Meteorologica*, it has been found that the commentary contains the entire Epitome intermingled with the Media and that the latter is complete only in Book IV whereas in Books I–III there are lacunae. This makes us wonder whether the other books of which the commentaries are described as *Paraphrasis, Media*, or simply *Expositio* or *Commentaria*, are not also of a composite nature. In the case of the *Metaphysics* in the Juntine edition, there is ground to believe that the commentary is of a composite nature for it is described by the plural 'commentaries,' as in 'Averrois . . . Commentarij' and 'cum Averrois Cordubensis commentariis.' In the Comino de Tridino edition the commentary on the *Metaphysics* is definitely stated in several places to be of a composite character, as, e.g., 'cum utraque Aver. Comm.' or 'cum dupl. Aver. Comm.,' and one of the two component parts is described at the beginning as Elijah Delmedigo's ('ab Haelia Cretensi') translation of the first seven books of the 'media.'

A complete description of these commentaries will be impossible until all the Latin texts are brought together and carefully compared with the Hebrew.

The result of this inventory is that out of the twenty-nine titles of Averroes' commentaries which are extant in Hebrew, the Arabic has twenty, and of these, five are to be found only in Hebrew characters. The Old Latin translations made directly from the Arabic have eleven. Combining the Old Latin translations from the Arabic and the New Latin translations from the Hebrew, we have in Latin twenty-five. Among those lost in the Arabic are some of the most important works, such as the *Long Posterior Analytics*, the *Middle and Long Physics*, the *Long De Anima*, and the *Middle Metaphysics*. Those lacking in the combined Latin translations are the *Epitome of the Physics*, *Epitome of De Caelo*, *Long De Plantis*, and *Epitome of De Anima*. Some of these, however, may perhaps be found embedded in the other commentaries. Finally, among the new Latin translations from the Hebrew, we have a commentary on *De Caelo* which may represent the *Long Commentary* on that book, of which, so far, no Arabic or Hebrew text is known.¹

THE PROJECT

The facts brought out in the Inventory convince one beyond any doubt that the publication of a complete and properly edited corpus of Averroes' Commentaries in only one of the three languages is almost impossible. Both the Arabic and the Latin are dependent upon the Hebrew for the filling out of their respective lacunae. All of them — the Arabic, the Hebrew and the Latin — are dependent upon each other for the establishment of accurate texts — unless we think that the Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin texts can be established independently of each other by merely counting the scribal errors in their respective manuscripts and adding to them some conjectural emendations. Furthermore, the Arabic, the Hebrew, and the Latin are in need of each other for the determination of the exact meaning of words and phrases and in general for the proper study of the text. Without such reciprocal help, the corpus would be only an additional

¹ After the pages of this article had been set up, a transcript of the incipit of the London MS. of Averroes' *Commentary on De Caelo* was received showing it to be the middle.

shelf of unintelligible volumes, for the knowledge of Averroes' commentaries expired among the Arabic-speaking peoples with the death of the author at the end of the twelfth century, and among readers of Hebrew and Latin it has lingered only among a few of the initiate since the seventeenth century. Finally, no proper study of the commentaries of Averroes is possible without the help of the Hebrew supercommentaries. Not only do these supercommentaries contain all the important critical, historical, and interpretative material necessary for the study of the subject matter of the commentaries, but owing to their inclusion of great portions of the commentaries in the form of quotations, they are also valuable for the establishment of the text.

The object of the plan, therefore, is to prepare an edition of the commentaries of Averroes simultaneously in the three languages — the language in which they were originally written, the language in which they have been most thoroughly expounded and most completely preserved, and in the language through which they became known to Western philosophy. The edition, furthermore, is to be equipped with all the necessary textual and philological information that may be helpful to anyone who may wish to study these commentaries in their manifold bearings upon the various phases of the history of philosophy.

The method to be followed in editing the work can best be described by showing what critical apparatus, glossaries, and other equipments the edited volumes are expected to have.

CRITICAL APPARATUS

Each of the texts in the three languages is expected to have three critical apparatuses, which may be designated as *A*, *B*, *C*.

Apparatus *A* is to contain the variant readings of the MSS of a given text in one of the three languages. This Apparatus will naturally differ in the three texts, though occasionally the variant readings in the text of one language may be found to have some bearing upon the variant readings of the text of another language, in which case they will be recorded in more than one text.

Apparatus *B* is to show the relation between the Arabic, Hebrew,

and Latin texts. It will contain such data as may be gathered by a close and detailed comparison of the texts in the three languages, as, e.g., substitution of terms, free rendering of passages, and inaccurate translations due either to corrupt texts of the original or to a misunderstanding of the meaning of the original. This Apparatus will be the same in the three texts, though somewhat differently arranged.

Apparatus *C* is to show the relation of Aristotelian passages contained in Averroes' commentaries to their corresponding Greek texts. Such an Apparatus will be necessary because of the occurrence of Aristotelian passages, in some form or other, in every one of the three series of commentaries. In the Long Commentary the Aristotelian text is given *in extenso* and is on the whole distinguishable from the commentary proper. In the Middle Commentary the Aristotelian texts are either reproduced verbally or given in paraphrase form. Though quotations and paraphrases of Aristotle are supposed to be introduced by the word 'dixit,' still it is not always possible to distinguish them from the rest of the commentary. In the Epitome, quotations and paraphrases of Aristotle occur only casually. In preparation of this Apparatus, it will be necessary to compare the commentaries with the original works of Aristotle, to mark off, first, all the passages that are supposed to be translations of Aristotle, and, second, all the passages that are supposed to be paraphrases of Aristotle, and then, to mark these two off from each other and both of them from the commentary. The passages which are either translations or paraphrases of Aristotle are to be compared with the original Greek, word for word and phrase for phrase, and the differences discovered are to be recorded in Apparatus *C*. This Apparatus will be the same in the three texts.

While these three Apparatuses are to be kept distinct from each other, certain elements may have to be transferred from one Apparatus to another.

TYPOGRAPHICAL DISPOSITION OF TEXT

In printing, the three strata of the text, viz., (1) translations of Aristotle, (2) paraphrases of Aristotle, and (3) Averroes' own com-

ments, are to be indicated by the use of different type or by a difference in spacing between letters or between lines.

REFERENCES TO SOURCES

Not many sources are mentioned by Averroes. But occasionally he refers to works of Aristotle, to some other place in his own commentaries, to Greek commentators of Aristotle, such as Alexander and Themistius, and to earlier Arabic authors, such as Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Avempace. In all such instances the sources are to be identified and whenever a printed edition or manuscript of the source in question exists, proper references are to be supplied.

GLOSSARIES

Each commentary is to have at the end a glossary in four languages, arranged as follows: (1) For the Arabic — Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, Greek. (2) For the Hebrew — Hebrew, Arabic, Latin, Greek. (3) For the Latin — Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Greek. But in order to make the work also useful to the student of Aristotle, there should be a fourth glossary — Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, to be printed either together with each text of the commentary or separately. In each of these four glossaries, or at least in the fourth one, it may be also advisable to have certain terms explained in some modern language.

ORGANIZATION OF STAFF

In order to carry out the work effectively it will be necessary to organize a staff along the following lines: [I] Editor-in-Chief, to be selected from among the [II] Board of Editors, which is to consist of the following three members: Editor of the Arabic Series, Editor of the Hebrew Series, Editor of the Latin Series; [III] Advisory Board; [IV] Editors of the individual works.

While in some cases it may be possible for one editor to edit the same work in the three languages, it will be on the whole advisable to have three men, an Arabist, a Hebraist, and a Latinist, associated in the edition of any commentary which exists in the three languages. Among the three editors, however, there is to be one who has a knowledge of the three languages, so that he may be able to coördi-

nate the work on all three texts. It is the belief of the writer that there will be no difficulty in getting properly qualified men in sufficient number to carry out the program as laid out.

PUBLICATION

The polyglot form, with the three texts printed one beside the other or one below the other, would perhaps be most ideal for the publication of this corpus. But practical considerations may make such a plan impossible. Besides, there is nothing tangible to be gained by it. The various apparatuses and glossaries will furnish to the student of any single one of the texts all the information that he may gather from the other two texts. Those few who are able to use themselves all the three texts will find it just as easy to handle three monoglot volumes as one polyglot one.

Consequently, while the editing of the texts must be done simultaneously in the three languages by editors working in association with each other, the publication of the texts may be treated, if necessary, as three independent undertakings. There will be three series of publications of the same corpus:

- A. The Arabic Series
- B. The Hebrew Series
- C. The Latin Series.

Whenever the Hebrew or the Latin possesses several translations of the same text, all the translations are to be printed side by side on the same page.

A special subdivision of the Hebrew Series will be supercommentaries on Averroes. These will have to be considered as an integral part of the Corpus. Similarly, the Latin Series will have to include the Annotations of Zimara and others as well as the Latin translations of the Hebrew supercommentaries of Gersonides.

While the present plan contemplates an edition of only the commentaries of Averroes, excluding even his *Quaestiones* to the various books of Aristotle, it may be extended to apply also to any future plan for the publication of the other works of Averroes and of the works of other Arabic and Jewish philosophers, which happen to exist in Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin. But whatever the scope of the

plan of a complete philosophic Corpus, the commentaries of Averroes are to be treated as a class by themselves and, though in point of time they come rather late, they are to be taken up first owing to their importance as the key to any attempt at a comparative study of mediaeval philosophy.

D. SERIES OF STUDIES OF AVERROES

As the Corpus is to be something more than a mere collection of texts, it should also have room for annotated translations into modern languages of selected commentaries of Averroes and for monographs dealing with certain phases of Averroes' philosophy. The scholars who will be entrusted with the editing of the texts as well as other competent scholars are therefore to be encouraged to undertake translations or independent studies of the works included in the Corpus. Such works are to form a Fourth Series of the Corpus.

RELATION OF THIS PLAN TO SIMILAR OTHER PLANS

Within the last decade three suggestions have been made for the publication of mediaeval philosophic works in either Hebrew, Arabic, or Latin. The relation of the plan herein suggested to the other plans is therefore a topic which cannot be altogether left out of discussion.

1. A suggestion for the publication of a 'Corpus Scriptorum Philosophicorum Hebraeorum' was made by the present writer in 1921 (see 'The Needs of Jewish Scholarship in America,' *Menorah Journal*, February, 1921). The Hebrew Series of Averroes' Commentaries now suggested is to be part of the Corpus of the Hebrew philosophic authors.

2. An announcement of the preparation of a 'Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum' was made by Maurice Bouyges, S. J., in 1927 in his edition of Algazel's *Tahafot Al Falasifat*. So far the Bibliotheca has confined itself to some of the works of Algazali and to Averroes' *Tahafot al-Tahafot*. The one splendidly edited volume that has so far been published takes no cognizance of the Hebrew translations. It is an excellent edition of an Arabic text for Arabic students. Should the editor take up also Averroes' Commentaries on Aristotle, it is to be

hoped that a method of coöperation will be effected between his undertaking and ours.

3. A project for the publication of a 'Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi' was submitted by the Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres in 1928. This Corpus is to be divided into three series: 1. Mediaeval [Latin] translations of Aristotle; 2. Jewish and Arabic Philosophers [in Latin]; 3. Mediaeval Latin Philosophers. Of these three series, the second, in so far as it will have to include Latin translations of Averroes' commentaries, is identical with the Latin Series of our proposed plan, and it is to be hoped that a method of coöperation will be effected.

The first series of the 'Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi' has been taken up by the Union Académique Internationale. From the printed prospectus we gather that the Latin translations of Aristotle's works are to include both those which were translated directly from the Greek and those which were translated from the Arabic. The former do not concern us. But as for the latter, it is our belief that it cannot be done adequately independently of our plan, for since the commentaries of Averroes contain the texts of Aristotle's works either in whole or in part, they may prove to be of utmost importance in establishing the Arabic texts underlying the Latin translations especially in cases where the underlying Arabic texts are not extant. It is therefore to be hoped that some method of coöperation will be effected with regard to the Arabico-Latin translations of Aristotle between the plan of the Union Académique Internationale and our plan.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

NOTES

KOENIG ALFRED'S GEOGRAFIE

KEMP MALONE, der uns in Deutschland durch eine grosse Reihe fruchtbarer, kombinationsreicher Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der altgermanischen Philologie bekannte Gelehrte, hat im *Speculum*, v (April, 1930) eine neue, sehr beachtenswerte Theorie über die Grundlagen der Geografie König Alfreds aufgestellt. Bekanntlich reiht der grosse Angelsachse in seiner Uebersetzung des geografischen Kapitels in der Weltgeschichte des Presbyters Orosius, das er durch ausgedehnte, eigene Interpolationen erweitert, Länder und Völker nach Himmelsrichtungen aneinander. Hierbei befolgt er das sehr einfache Prinzip, das sich auf die Formel bringen lässt: 'Dieses liegt nördlich von jenem, jenes liegt westlich von einem dritten usw.'

Wenn man bedenkt, wie ungenau die klassischen geografischen Begriffe waren, die Orosius repräsentiert und wie andererseits der König, der aus eigener Erfahrung das kontinentale Europa nur von einer Romreise kannte, sich auf die Informationen, besonders für den Osten, von Kaufleuten und Wikingern stützen musste, wird man sich nicht über Ungenauigkeiten hier und dort in der Angabe der Himmelsrichtungen wundern. Kemp Malone glaubt nun aber in diesen Ungenauigkeiten ein gewisses System entdeckt zu haben. Er ist der Ansicht, dass Alfred einmal das klassische System der Orientierung benutzt und zum ändern ein solches, in dem der Norden um 45° in der Richtung des Uhrzeigers (clockwise) nach dem Osten verschoben ist. Das 'shifted system' tritt in den Interpolationen mehr hervor, ist aber nicht auf diese beschränkt. Malone kann überhaupt für keine Gegend Europas oder für den Bericht der genannten Gewährsmänner (Othhere und Wulfstan) die Beschränkung auf ein bestimmtes System nachweisen. Nur darin sieht er das Systematische, das wenn nach dem einen oder anderem System eine Unstimmigkeit vorkommt, diese in einer Abweichung von 45° besteht.

Der amerikanische Gelehrte eröffnet selbst von dieser Feststellung aus den Blick auf die Frage, wie sich Alfred zu seinen Zeitgenossen und Vorgängern auf geografischem Gebiet in Bezug auf diese Abweichung verhält und welchen Ursprung sie hatte. Ich möchte diesen Forschungen hier nicht in dem Sinne vorgreifen, dass ich die Möglichkeit grundsätzlich verneine, Alfred habe eine andre Nordorientierung, also vermutlich an einem andren Gestirn gehabt, als die klassische Tradition. Es ist meine Absicht, hier nur einige der vermeintlichen Unstimmigkeiten näher ins Auge zu fassen und zwar in der Beschreibung Germaniens, in der nach Ansicht Malones die Verschiebungen besonders hervortreten. Ich will sie soweit auflösen, dass jedenfalls sie nicht mehr als eindeutiges Argument für Malone's Theorie dienen können. Ich stütze mich dabei auf frühere Arbeiten, einen Aufsatz in den *Englischen*

Studien, Bd. I.X., s. 49 und das diesbezügliche Kapitel über König Alfreds Geografie in meinem Buche *England und die Gesittungsgrundlage der europäischen Frühgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main, 1930). Hier und da gehe ich aber über die dortigen Feststellungen hinaus.

Die Beschreibung Germaniens beginnt König Alfred mit folgender Aufzählung: 'Dann im Norden der Donauquelle und östlich des Rheines sind die Ostfranken; und südlich von ihnen (*bé sá þan him*) sind die Schwaben, auf der anderen Seite des Donaufusses. Und südlich von ihnen (*bé sá þan him*) und nach Osten sind die Bayern, der Teil, den man Regensburg nennt, usw.' In dieser Weise wird ein Beziehungssystem aufgestellt. Die Grundlage sind die Nachbarschaftsbezeichnungen. Es ist aber in der Interpretation eine entscheidende Unklarheit vorhanden, die Malone hervorzuheben nicht für nötig befunden hat. Das persönliche Pronomen *him* (= ihnen) kann als rückbezüglich auf die letzterwähnte Völkerschaft nach moderner Sprachlogik aufgefasst werden. So tut es Malone. Es ergeben sich dann *strikte* Nachbarbeziehungen. Wie ein Blick auf die Karte zeigt und wie Malone aufgefallen ist, sind diese jedoch sehr häufig völlig unsinnig. Bei einer solchen Auffassung wären nämlich z. B. die Friesen nordwestlich der Altsachsen anzusetzen und die Obotriten nördlich der Dänen. Diese Schwierigkeit kann aber gelöst werden, wenn wir, was nach angelsächsischer Syntax durchaus möglich ist, die Personalpronomina (*him*) nicht auf das letztgenannte Volk sondern auf jene Völkerschaften beziehen, die Alfred als Ausgangs- und Mittelpunkt für seine Aufzählung benutzt. Er bildet Nachbarschaftsgruppen um eine ihm besonders wichtige Völkerschaft. Eine solche ist die der Ostfranken, Altsachsen, Mährer, Süddänen, Norddänen, Esten, Bornholmer (Burgunden), und Schweden. Wenn wir diese Interpretation benutzen, brauchen wir nicht mit Malone eine Verschiebung der Nordrichtung anzunehmen. Die Lagebezeichnungen stimmen dann überall, auch nach dieser Rückbezüglichkeit bei den Ostfranken, bei denen der südöstliche Ansatz der Bayern so sinnvoller ist, als wenn wir diese Richtung mit Malone für die Nachbarschaft zu den Schwaben als bestimmend ansehen. Es gibt jedoch eine Reihe von Ausnahme-Fällen nach unserer Deutung, und zwar innerhalb des Einzelsystems der Mährer, wo Alfred die Lage durch *strikte* Nachbarbeziehungen von der Erwähnung des Kärntner Landes bis Griechenland bestimmt, aber er greift dann (Ed. Sweet, S. 16, Zeile 16) auf den Ausgangspunkt, auf die Mährer zurück. Wie man an dem Ostfrankensystem sehen kann, könnte natürlich auch im Einzelfall das *him* ebensogut als rückbezüglich auf das Nachbarvolk wie auf das Mittelpunktvolk dienen.

Um diesen starken syntaktischen Akzent, der auf den Mittelpunktsvölkern liegt im Sinne der von uns gemeinten Konstruktion des *him*, verständlich zu machen, möchte ich das folgende hervorheben. *Für das Auswahlprin-*

zip des Königs bei seiner Länderbeschreibung im Ansetzen der Mittelpunktsvölker kann es sich natürlich nicht um irgend etwas handeln, dass mit modernen abstrakt-geografischen Gesichtspunkten vergleichbar sei! Nach dieser Richtung habe ich schon früher gegen die Ausführungen von Geidel (*Alfred der Grosse als Geograf*, München 1904) mich gewandt. Ich möchte diesen Gesichtspunkt auch gegen die Tendenz von Malone geltend machen, ein System in anscheinenden Unstimmigkeiten der Lagebezeichnung zu suchen. Wir sehen in der zweiten Interpolation, in den Reiseberichten Ohtheres und Wulfstans, welcher Art die Berichterstatter des Königs waren; ebenso wie bei ihnen wird es sich im allgemeinen um Kaufleute gehandelt haben, die dem König über den Kontinent berichteten. Andere als politisch-kommerzielle Gesichtspunkte werden hier für den Interessenkreis des Königs nicht massgebend gewesen sein. Von hier aus ist allein die Auswahl der Ostfranken und der Altsachsen als Mittelpunkte in dem eigentlichen Deutschland verständlich. Die politische Vorherrschaft des Frankenstammes auch in Deutschland in dem Jahrhundert des Königs ist bekannt. Mit Altsachsen verbanden den König die alten verwandtschaftlichen und neue kulturpolitische Beziehungen (Corvey). Während der Zeit Alfreds war in Mähren ein mächtiges Reich errichtet worden durch den Herzog Swatopluk (gestorben 894), dem die Böhmen und eine grosse Slawenverbindung huldigten, und der seit 873 selbständig einen Vorposten der fränkischen Politik im Osten darstellte. Die übrigen fünf Mittelpunkte des Systems liegen um die Ostsee. Sie repräsentieren die skandinavische Einflussphäre. Allerdings ist anzunehmen, dass der König seine Nachrichten über diese Gegenden, die er wohl vor allem von Skandinavien hatte, auch durch deutsche Gewährsmänner gelegentlich ergänzen liess. So erkläre ich in der Germania-Interpolation die halb deutsche Form 'Östsæ.' Allerdings zeigt auch diese vereinzelt deutsche Form dänische Herkunft. Die Bezeichnung *Ostsee* ist nämlich, wie schon Forster feststellte, unrichtig vom geografischen Standpunkt der Deutschen aus. Sie erhält ihre Berechtigung, wenn man berücksichtigt, dass die im 9. Jahrhundert durch die Wenden von diesem Meere völlig abgeschnittenen Deutschen sie von den Dänen entlehnten, für die sie allein geografisch sinnvoll ist, (cf. Geidel, S. 40) (An sich ist natürlich auch die Erklärung von Kemp Malone möglich (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* vol. xx, Jan. 1925), der 'Östsæ' aus isländisch 'austmarr' mit Uebergang von skandinavischen *au* zu angelsächsisch *ō* ableitet.) Die skandinavische Welt ist aber immer für den grossen Gegner der Skandinavier in England in politischer, aber auch in friedlich kommerzieller Hinsicht (vgl. Ohthere usw.) bedeutsam. Die einzige Stadt, die der König auf deutschem Boden erwähnt, ist Regensburg. Diese Stadt ist damals nicht nur die Hauptstadt des wichtigen bayerischen Stammes, sondern des ganzen ostfränkischen Reiches, da Ludwig der Deutsche

zunächst Bayern besetzt, und seine Nachfolger Bayern als Hauptland ihres Teilreiches ansehen. So zeichnet die Stadt als Residenz, aber weit mehr noch als Transitplatz für die Donaugebiete und den Handel des Mittelmeeres die spätmittelalterliche Blüte der oberdeutschen Handelsstädte vor. In diesem Zusammenhang sei noch erwähnt, dass, wenn man die Reiseberichte mit in die sog. Beschreibung Germaniens einschliesst, wozu sie dem Sinne nach gehören, ausser Regensburg, Hedeby und Truso genannt werden, beides ebenfalls mächtige Handels und Verkehrsmittelpunkte. Ausserdem erwähnt Ohthere noch den Hafen Scringesheal. Es ergibt sich also aus dieser Ueberlegung der praktische, kaufmännische und politische Charakter der Geografie des Königs, die als reine Theorie wesentlich zweckmässiger hätte eingerichtet werden können, um manche Sprünge in der Lagebezeichnung, wie z.B. den von den Altsachsen zu den Mähnern, zu vermeiden.

Ich habe mit den letzten Ausführungen ein Stück meiner eigenen Forschung wiedergegeben (vgl. das zitierte Buch S. 182) da mir hierin ein Gesichtspunkt enthalten scheint, der in der *shift*-Theorie Malones nicht genügend beachtet sein dürfte.

Zu einigen Einzelinterpretationen, die nicht für die Haupttheorie Malones, aber an sich von einem gewissen sachlichen Interesse sind, möchte ich mir noch erlauben, das folgende hinzuzufügen. Für den Begriff Alfreds und Ohtheres von *Iraland* ist die Tatsache heranzuziehen, dass ein Name, der für die irischen Gälén, aber auch für die Lowlanders in Schottland gebraucht wird, *Erse* ist. Alle Schwierigkeiten in der Interpretation der Beschreibung Ohtheres von seiner Fahrt nach Scringesheal lösen sich, wenn man *Iraland* als die Bezeichnung sowohl für Irland wie für Schottland setzt. Auf diesen Gebrauch weist auch die anscheinende Verwirrung Adams von Bremen von Irland mit Schottland. (Vgl. Malone S. 143, Anm. 2). Näheres über die Bezeichnung der grossbritanischen Kelten ist zu finden bei Rudolf Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königssage bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Halle 1921) S. 74 ff.

Zu der Ansicht von Malone, dass Alfreds *Mægðaland* wahrscheinlicher 'Land der Stämme' bedeutet als 'Land der Mädchen,' möchte ich hier nur anführen, dass ich auf S. 23 ff. meines zitierten Buches eine grössere Reihe von Zeugnissen aus der *Germania* des Tacitus, aus Paulus Diakonus, der *Hervararsaga*, aus Adam von Bremen und aus arabischen Schriftstellern angeführt habe, die alle darin übereinstimmen, dass die Stellung der Frau im Osten Europas, eine vom Germanentum verschiedene, stärker hervortretende gewesen sei. So ist *Mægðaland* ebensowenig wie das von Alfred dem Grossen erwähnte *Cwénland* als eine Beziehung auf die dem männerstaatlichen Germanen auffallende Macht der Frau im Osten an sich

unwahrscheinlich. Ich dachte selbst früher an die Möglichkeit *Mægðaland* mit den Magyaren in Zusammenhang zu bringen, die auf ihren Zügen omv Ural in das heutige Ungarn Russland durchquerten. (Vgl. *Engl. Stud.* Bd. LX, S. 49 ff.) Wenn ich heute alles Für und Wider berücksichtige, vor allem auch, dass Alfred *Mægðaland* eben in der Gegend des heutigen Litauen ansetzt, wo wie gesagt seit Tacitus auffiel, dass die Frauen mit den Männern oder allein auf die Jagd und in den Kampf zogen, so erscheint mir die Interpretation von *Mægðaland* als Mädchenland gesichert. Wer noch jetzt im letzten Kriege mit den Frauenbatallionen der Sowjets im Osten zu kämpfen hatte, wird die alte Namenscharakteristik der stärkeren geschlechtlichen Undifferenziertheit des primitiveren Ostens begreifen. Gegen die Gleichung *Mægðaland* gleich Magyaren spricht die für dieses Volk reichlich nördliche Ansetzung. Das sprachlich an sich zulässige, von Malone vorgeschlagene 'Land der Stämme' ist abgesehen von der grossen Tradition, die hinter dem Mädchenland steht, an sich sehr abstrakt.

Bezüglich der Ansicht Malones, die er mit Professor Sir William Craigie teilt, dass Wulfstan ein Engländer gewesen sei, möchte ich natürlich zugeben, dass dieses der Namensform nach möglich ist, aber es kann auch, wie bei Ohthere, eine Anglisierung des skandinavischen Namens 'Ulfsteinn' vorliegen. (Vgl. Björkmann, *Nordische Personennamen in England*, Halle 1910, S. 180.) Dazu möchte ich noch auf zwei schon früher von mir angeführte inhaltliche Gründe verweisen (vgl. zitiertes Buch, S. 171 f.). Wulfstan fährt, wie ausdrücklich gesagt wird, zu seiner Ostpreussenreise von *at Hæþum* aus, einer dänischen Stadt, Hedeby bei Schleswig, die wohl neben Trüso, wie die archäologischen Ausgrabungen gezeigt haben, die bedeutendste Handelstadt des Ostseegebietes jener Zeit war, ausgestattet mit einer grossen eigenen Industrie, Glasbläsereien zur Herstellung von Glasperlen und anderen begehrten gläsernen Handelsartikeln, einer Kamminindustrie usw. (vgl. *Engl. Stud.* Bd. LX, S. 44). Wäre Wulfstan ein Angelsachse gewesen, so hätte er wohl etwas über diesen ihm notwendigerweise auffallenden Hafenplatz berichtet, der dagegen dem Dänen Wulfstan eine Selbstverständlichkeit war! In der Geschichte vom weisen Njal (*Thule*, Bd. IV, S. 80) spielt Hedeby für den Isländer Gunnar eine in diesem Zusammenhang bemerkenswerte Rolle. Dieser Wikinger hatte mit zehn Schiffen in den baltischen Landen geheert. Er kehrte dann mit seiner reichen Beute zu dem genannten dänischen Hafen zurück. Das Anlaufen des Hafens ist also auch für diesen Baltikumfahrer das Gegebene. Schon hieraus geht hervor, dass die Reise des Wulfstan keine Entdeckungsfahrt war, wie die Gelehrten bis jetzt im allgemeinen annehmen. Es geht aber auch aus dem Bericht unmittelbar hervor, dass dem Reisenden die angeführten Landmarken (Langeland, Laaland, Falster usw.) bis Gotland bekannt waren.

Sie konnten nicht alle zu gleicher Zeit in sieben Tagen bis Gotland hinauf gesichtet und angelaufen werden, wenn er in dieser Zeit Truso erreichen wollte. Er gibt also nur aus dem für einen Dänen, nicht aber für einen Angelsachsen hier möglichen nautischen Wissen eines Handelskapitäns, dem Könige Auskunft.

Warum nach Malones Auffassung *Osti*, ein Wort, dass durch die Ansetzung am Südufer des baltischen Meeres gegenüber den Schweden und in der Nachbarschaft der Wenden usw. geographisch klar bestimmt ist, einmal einen Volksstamm bezeichnen soll und dann eben die Ostsee, ist nicht einsichtig. Ich halte *Osti* für eine volksetymologische Verdrehung des Eigennamens der Esten, auf die die Situation eindeutig hinweist.

Die Vermutungen Malones bezüglich des Weichseldeltas, dass ein westliches Gatt, ein 'Nehrungstief,' wie man in Ostpreussen sagt, gegenüber dem Ausflusse der Nogat und des Elbingflusses vorhanden gewesen sei, kann ich zur Gewissheit erheben.

In der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts war nachweisbar ein Tief auf der Frischen Nehrung bei Vogelsang vorhanden. So hindert nichts die Annahme, dass ein solches auch bereits im letzten Viertel des 9. Jahrhunderts dort existierte. (Vgl. E. Dorr, *Schriften der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Danzig*, N.F. XIV, 1914-1918 und meinen Aufsatz in den *Englischen Studien*, Bd. LX, S. 51) Wieso die Himmelsrichtungen hier nicht stimmen sollen in der Erzählung Wulfstans, vermag ich nicht zu begreifen, da auch nach der Karte von Malone (S. 163) die Nogat von Süden sich in das Haff ergiesst und die ganze Beschreibung darauf hindeutet, dass der Elbingfluss nach dem Westen sich mit der Nogat vereinigte zu jenem Gewässer, das Wulfstan die Weichsel nennt. Dieser auf einer kurzen Strecke des stilleren und flacheren Haffs zusammenhängende *Flussschwall*, nicht nur im Nehrungstief als Fluss deutlich erkennbar, strömte dann durch dieses bei Vogelsang.

Auch hier sieht man, dass sich die Himmelsrichtungen bei eingehenderer Interpretation im Sinne einer eindeutigen Nordorientierung verstehen lassen.

Zum Schluss möchte ich auf die für den amerikanischen Leser wohl unbekannte Tatsache hinweisen, dass das Truso, die fabelhafte Stadt, zu der Wulfstan segelte, 1925 durch den inzwischen leider verstorbenen Professor Max Ebert in ihren Resten am Westabhange des Trunzer-Plateaus entdeckt und ausgegraben worden ist. Die Stadt zeigt die gleiche Anlage wie die bekannten grossen, skandinavischen Handelsplätze an der Ostsee aus jener Zeit. z.B. auch Wulfstans Hedeby, d.h. es ist an einer Wasserstrasse ziemlich weit im Innern des Landes gelegen, also durch die Lage geschützt vor Angriffen von der See, ferner durch einen Ringwall gegen das

Land zu verteidigt und durch eine Hugelburg als letztes Refugium gekront. Keramische Funde weisen auf skandinavische Besiedlung, andere auffallenderweise auf fruhgermanische Einwohner bereits zur romischen Kaiserzeit. Wir haben hier bereits eine *Gotenstadt*. (Vgl. hierzu M. Ebert, *Schriften der Konigsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, 3. Jahrgang, Heft 1, S. 38).

GUSTAV HUBENER,
Bonn

THE ARABIC HISTORY OF DULCARNAIN AND THE ETHIOPIAN HISTORY OF ALEXANDER

IN THE history and tradition of the Alexander Legend Spain occupies a unique position; for here converged and were juxtaposed two lines of development long distinct. Indeed they never really united or mixed. From the north came the line to be characterized as occidental, and derived for the most part from the *Nativitas et Victoria Alexandri Magni Regis* (called in its later and interpolated redactions *Historia de Preliis*), a Latin version made by the Archipresbyter Leo of Naples just after the middle of the tenth century from a Greek original secured at Constantinople, the latter itself derived from a lost Greek original designated by the sign δ . From the south came a line to be characterized as oriental, in Arabic, which in passing into Arabic had become moslemized. There were, it is true, many versions in Arabic but the most significant of them, generally dated as belonging to the ninth century, has been regarded as lost, and yet as having to a great extent served as the chief source of the Ethiopian version, dated from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century.

This lost Arabic version was held to have been derived in the main from the extant Syrian *History of Alexander* of the seventh century but to have incorporated within itself portions of the Christian *Syrian Legend* of the sixth century as well as of the *Koran*, e.g. xviii, 82 ff. This Syrian *History of Alexander*, which like the other versions of the Alexander legend is generally spoken of as an Alexander Romance, was proved by Noeldeke to have been derived from the lost Persian (Pahlavi) version belonging to the sixth century, the latter being derived from a Greek original belonging to the δ -family from which (as stated above) our occidental versions also were derived. Owing to a freak of fortune — the fact that Mueller in editing the *Priniceps of the Greek Alexander Romance* in 1846 made *B* his chief guide — the Alexander Romance has generally been referred to ever since by the misnomer Pseudo-Callisthenes. No name however was associated with it in antiquity, and the true title of the work was $\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ [*or* *\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\rho\iota\alpha*?] 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνας, a fact of prime importance in the

study of the tradition. It has been reasonably conjectured that in passing from Syrian into Arabic the *History of Alexander* — for so it was regarded — lost its pagan character and became moslemized, and that the portions of the Christian *Syrian Legend* incorporated in the Arabic version had been dechristianized. Is it possible that the name had been changed from the *History of Alexander* to the *History of Dulcarnain*? It has also been reasonably conjectured that inasmuch as the Ethiopian version represented Alexander as Christian, and inasmuch as this was copied mainly from this supposedly lost Arabic version which represented him as Mohammedan, this must in turn have been demoslemized and rechristianized to fit its new surroundings and audience.

This most significant Arabic version has been spoken of as lost, but even as we speak there is published something which though not literally identical with it is nevertheless not far removed from it.¹ This Arabic text all but steps into our midst from the unseen, saying, 'Coram quem quaeritis adsum!' Its publication constitutes one of the outstanding contributions made to our texts of the Alexander Romance within the past generation. Professor Gómez is to be highly commended for having undertaken the work of translating and editing, the Instituto de Valencia de San Juan, Madrid, for having made possible its publication, and the Hispanic Society of America, New York, for its cooperation in publication.

To the Arabic text and Spanish translation (pp. 3-108) Gómez prefixes four chapters as an introductory study, *vis.*: Cap. I. *Bosquejo histórico de la evolución de la leyenda de Alejandro en el islam* (pp. xxi-lxxxii). Cap. II. *El manuscrito que se edita y su lenguaje* (pp. lxxxiii-xcviii). Cap. III. *Cotejo con la redacción aljamiada* (pp. xcix-cxiii). Cap. IV. *Ensayo de investigación de las fuentes* (pp. cxv-clxii).

The manuscript seems to be written in characters belonging to the fifth or the sixth century of the Hegira, perhaps about 1200 A.D. (cf. p. lxxxiv). The work bears the name *Historia de Dulcarnain*, and in the manuscript this occupied fol. 1-47^v inclusive. Unfortunately, however, leaves 1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12 have been lost, and, as will later be brought out, the loss of 1 and 2 is the most to be regretted.

In his first chapter dealing with the legend of Alexander in Islam his contribution is valuable for the additions made to such works as Noeldeke,

¹ *Un Texto Arabe Occidental de la Leyenda de Alejandro segun el Manuscrito Ar. XXVII de la Biblioteca de la Junta para Ampliación de Estudios, Edición, Traducción Española, y Estudio Preliminar* par Emilio García Gómez. Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid, 1929. pp. cxiv+108.

² In another place (p. cxxxviii) Gómez erroneously thinks that he has found in the text a reference to an event of A.H. 864, i.e. Oct. 28, 1459 to Oct. 17, 1460 A.D. *Vid. infra* p. 441 for discussion of this point.

'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans' (*Wiener Denkschriften*, xxxviii [1890]), and Friedländer, *Die Chahirlegende und Alexanderroman* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1913). And yet his treatment leaves something to be desired. On p. 21, he speaks of the Alexander Romance as attributed to Pseudo-Callisthenes, and in his footnote to the same page he should certainly have mentioned Wilhelm Kroll's edition of the *Historia Alexandri Magni* (*Pseudo-Callisthenes*) (vol. 1, *Recensio Vetusta*, Berlin, Weidmann, 1926), the preface of which (p. xv) brings out the fact that the work was not attributed to any particular author in antiquity, and that the use of the name Callisthenes in this connection was limited to *B* and Suidas. If used at all therefore, the term *Pseudo-Callisthenes* should be used only with the explanation that it is a concession to traditional usage. In the same footnote his reference to B. Meissner, *Alexander und Gilgames* (Leipzig, 1894), he seems to credit Meissner with arguing in favor of the Babylonian origin of the Alexander legend, whereas all that Meissner does is to prove that in the fusion of Babylonian and Hellenistic cultures legend by transfer credited to Alexander much that had previously been credited to Gilgamesh, and in fact made Alexander out to be a second Gilgamesh even as in other lands it made him out to be a second Heracles or a second Dionysus. The date ascribed to the composition of the original Alexander Romance, '*hacia la segunda centuria de Jesucristo*,' is either too early according to the view of Kroll, or too late according to that of Ausfeld. His bibliography of Gog and Magog on p. xxxv, footnote 1 is rather slim, and he would have profited much from a use of Bousset, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eschatologie,' in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xx (1899), 113-131, not to mention other studies.¹

Where does the *Historia de Dulcarnain* belong? Was it perhaps the lost Arabic Alexander Romance from which Ben Tibbon made his Hebrew version about 1200, which is classified as belonging to I₂? This possibility Gómez promptly dismisses; for the *Historia de Dulcarnain* is related to I₂ and to Leo only in remotest ancestry. What is the relation of *Historia de*

¹ The following misprints are to be noted: p. xxvi, ftn. 1 *Zeits. f. Assyriologie* vi, 1901 should be 1891. p. xxxi ftn. 1 *Kirchlain* should be *Kirchhain*. p. xlvi, ftn. 2 *Mittwoch* should be *Mittwoch*. p. lv middle *Namah* should be *Namah* (*bis*), so also on pp. lxxii, also ftn. 2 to p. lxxv and in subscription to frontispiece. p. lvii, ftn. *Stuttgart* for *Stuttgart*. p. lxii, ftn. 1 end, *Hiesemann* for *Hiersemann*. p. lxxv, ftn. 2, 1. 12, the volume of *Syria* is omitted, iv. The list of articles on Alexander's Celestial Voyage could be much increased, cf. F. P. Magoun, *The Gests of Alexander*, p. 41, ftn. 3. p. cxxv, last par. *θηλυμόρφοι* should be *θηλυμορφοι*. *βαρβάρου* should be *βάρβαρου*. p. cxxx, 1. 19, ii, 17 should be iii, 17. p. cxxxii, 1. 3 *Σεμιράμυς* should be *Σεμύραμυς*. 1. 6 *Δορφή θόαντα ὁ Φέρμον* seem to be an error. p. cxxxix, ftn. 1, *aus* should be *ans*. p. cl, 1. 3, *Der* should be *Die*. p. clx, near bottom *Pseuco-Callisthenes* should be *Pseudo-Callisthenes*.

Dulcarnain to the Aljamiado version, *Rrekontamiento del Rey Alizandre*?¹ In Cap. III are compared the Aljamiado redaction and the *Historia de Dulcarnain* herewith edited and translated by Gómez. After a careful comparison of the two in which the *Rrekontamiento* is made the basis, and in which Gómez sifts out those episodes in it which do not occur in the *Historia*, and in which furthermore he compares in a detailed study the episodes that are common to both, he comes to the following conclusion (p. cxii).

'Pero aun en esos mismos episodios comunes existen tales discrepancias de detalle (en nombres propios, orden de episodios, pormenores típicos, etc.), que puede afirmarse, desde luego, que no existe entre ambos textos relación inmediata alguna (es decir, que la redacción arabe no es el original de la versión aljamiada), e incluso sostenerse que la relación mediata que entre ellos existe es bastante remota, a través de diversas recensiones perdidas, cuya filiación es imposible conjeturar.'

There are furthermore several episodes in the *Historia*, some of them of great significance, that do not occur at all in the *Recontamiento*.

The investigation of the sources of the *Historia de Dulcarnain* which Gómez undertook in the last of his introductory chapters is one which made the most exacting demands upon scholarship, indeed so exacting as fairly to cry aloud for a Noeldeke. It is therefore not astonishing that Gómez's treatment of this problem is in no sense definitive, in fact is often incorrect and unreliable, handicapped as he was in his bibliographical equipment. He states regretfully that Budge's *History of Alexander the Great, Being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes* (Cambridge, 1889) was inaccessible to him (p. cxviii). Instead he used the summary of it by Noeldeke (manifestly incomplete and inadequate for so critical a piece of work) to be found in his *Beiträge*, saying (p. cxvii):

'Mi labor en este punto es, sin remedio, imperfecta, y se limita en muchos casos a situar el episodio dentro del mundo legendario a que pertenece. Con erudición superior a la mía, los especialistas podrán después apurar el análisis, estableciendo la filiación definitiva de las versiones y determinando con fijeza el punto de entronque de cada pasaje.'

It is therefore surprising that Gómez so often reaches not by arguments from facts at hand but by intuition a correct conclusion. His main conclusion with reference to the *Historia de Dulcarnain* is as follows (p. clxi):

'Segun he conjeturado, con las oportunas reservas — dadas las condiciones en que he realizado la investigación — pueden representar quiza la primitiva versión arábica del célebre texto, procedente del Siríaco, que se consideraba perdida. Ningun

¹ F. Guillén Robles, *Leyendas de José, Hijo de Jacob, y de Alejandro Magno* (Zaragoza, 1888); and more recently A. R. Nykl, ed., *A Compendium of Aljamiado Literature, etc.* (New York, 1929).

episodio tiene, sin embargo, el interés que el evidentemente derivado de la leyenda cristianosiríaca. Causa cierta sorpresa encontrar una versión casi completa y bastante fiel de este texto venerable, que influyó en el Alcorán, en un manuscrito aragonés del siglo xv, quando, según Nöldeke, apenas quedan rastros suyos en la literatura islámica.'

It may not indeed be the identical, original Arabic version made in the ninth century, but it seems in any case not to be far removed from it in general content; for it stands a number of severe tests which Gómez does not apply.

Gómez's study of the sources however is not one which merely needs supplementing, as he himself expected, but which on many points needs correction. He allocates the several episodes to what he regarded as its source under the following heads: Pseudo-Callisthenes in the Syrian version, *Syrian Legend*, *Koran*, '*Hadices*,' Expedition to the Fountain of Life, '*Enseñamientos*.' It is admitted that all these are important. But if the *Historia de Dulcarnain* is all that Gómez claims for it — the lost Arabic version which served as the principal source of the Ethiopian version — he should have placed it between the Syrian *History of Alexander*, the *Syrian Legend*, the *Koran* etc. on one hand and its chief derivative, the Ethiopian *History of Alexander* on the other, and subjected it to a rigid cross-criticism. One is tempted to think that even the Ethiopian version edited by Budge (*The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, London, 1896) was not accessible to him; for it is not discoverable that he made any use of it, even though he mentions it. It is not within the scope of the present limited study to give a full discussion of each episode, but a few will be taken up for purposes of illustration.

DULCARNAIN'S (ALEXANDER'S) VISIT TO THE KING OF CHINA.

Gómez under 5 c (p. cxlv) allocates the source of this to the '*Hadices*.' Not having the complete text of the Syrian *History of Alexander* (Noeldeke omitted this part from his summary), he did not observe that the episode occurred there III, 7 (pp. 109-113 ed. Budge), and to this source it should be allocated. Indeed, it is practically certain that the Syrian had it from the Pahlavi version, which antedated Islam. In the Ethiopian, the episode is found in the translation (II, 172-180). This is significant inasmuch as the Syrian gives the name assumed by Alexander in his disguise as *Pthâôs*, (Pythias?), while the Ethiopian gives it as *Metyâôs*, cf. the name Febus used in the *Rrekontamiento* (p. 271). In the *Historia de Dulcarnain* no name is given, and this is one of the instances showing that the *Historia de Dulcarnain* is somewhat condensed, since it does not contain some of the details that the Ethiopian carried over from the Syrian.

THE LETTER OF ARSATALIS (ARISTOTLE) TO DULCARNAIN.

This occurs twice in the *Historia de Dulcarnain* (pp. 73 and 84-85), and its source is the Syrian *History of Alexander III*, 17 (p. 131 in Budge's translation). It does not occur in any Greek version, but the Ethiopian version has it (p. 215).

THE POISONING OF DULCARNAIN BY CHOMANO,
QUEEN OF THE WOMEN (AMAZONS).

Gómez allocates the episode of the poisoning of Dulcarnain to the Christian *Syrian Legend*, the poisoning being foreign to the versions properly called Islamic. The only evidence offered in favor of such allocation is the presence of King Tabrac, a name in which Gómez sees the name of King Tubarlac of the Syrian *History of Alexander*.

DULCARNAIN'S LETTER TO HIS MOTHER, *HD* pp. 106-107.

HD neither uses the name Olympias nor any equivalent therefor. A fuller version of this letter is found in the Ethiopian *Alexander* pp. 302-306, but here also no name is given. No equivalent letter is found in the *Syrian Legend*.

COMPARISON OF THE GENERAL CONTENT OF THE HISTORIA DE DULCARNAIN
(*HD*) WITH THE ETHIOPIAN HISTORY OF ALEXANDER (*AE*).

(Note: The pages of *HD* are those of Gómez's Spanish translation; the pages of *AE* are those of Budge's English translation. Where no pages of *AE* are placed opposite to those of *HD*, it means that *AE* has no equivalent passage).

<i>HD</i>	<i>AE</i>
Lost leaves 1, 2 of MS.	
Pages 3-8	Pages 52-67
Lost leaf 5 of MS.	Substance prob. in <i>AE</i> pp. 67-82
Pages 9-16	Pages 82-102
Lost leaves 9, 10, 11, 12 of MS.	Substance prob. in <i>AE</i> pp. 102-142
Pages 18-21	142-151
25-30	173-179
34-49	230-272
51	276
58-61	281-286
64-66	151-154
72	165
73-80	215-241
84-86	215-217
87	223
87-103	187-213
106	302-303

It should be noted, (1) that there is no reason to believe that *AE* reproduced the substance of lost leaves 1, 2; but that it is probable that the substance of lost leaves 5, 9, 10, 11, 12 is contained in *AE* as noted; (2) that the following portions of *HD* are not in *AE*: p. 17 (insertion from Koran; pp. 22-24; 31-33; 50, 52-57; 62-63; 67-71; 81-83, 104-105; 107-108; (3) that Aristotle's letter to Alexander is repeated in *HD* (73 and 84), but occurs only once in *AE* (215); and (4) that the order of episodes in *HD* and *AE* is not in entire agreement.

I have previously referred to the significant fact that the work recounts a series of episodes that are usually grouped together under some such title as *History of Alexander*, but that here the title is *History of Dulcarnain*, a fact that gives full confirmation to a conjecture put forth by the present writer a few years ago in a study entitled, 'Alexander's Horns' (*Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LVIII (1927), 100-122), where the following is found (p. 106):

'In the extant versions of the Alexander Romance proper which are here considered the symbolic epithet 'Two-horned' occurs for the first time in the Ethiopian version (*Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, Budge's translation, II, 46), and from this point to the end the term is applied to Alexander several hundred times. Here Alexander appears as a most Christian king, champion and propagandist, almost a saviour and messiah — rôles that he could scarcely have played in the lost Arabic and Mohammedan original. It can be proved however that the symbolic epithet 'Two-horned' was not the invention of the Ethiopian redactor.'

I also maintained (*ibid.*, p. 116) that 'from now on (i.e. from Islamic times) Alexander became known as the "Two-horned" in the eastern versions of the Alexander Romance, beginning, as I now feel confident in affirming, in the lost Arabic version which is generally held to have been made in the ninth century, and it was from this that the term went into the Ethiopian version as told above.'

In the comparison of *HD* and *AE*, the most striking fact to be brought out is that *AE* uses the term 'Two-horned' both as a surname of Alexander (e.g. Alexander the Two-horned) and as a substitute for Alexander (e.g. the Two-horned without an accompanying Alexander). In *AE* the first occurrence of the term 'Two-horned' is on the bottom of p. 46 of Budge's translation, while the last is to be found on p. 286, and no occurrence of it is to be noted from this place to the end, pp. 287-353 inclusive. It is therefore for the intervening portion pp. 46-286 inclusive that *AE* shows dependence on an original similar to *HD*. During this portion we find Alexander combined with the term 'Two-horned' ten times, viz. pp. 46, 51, 55, 60, 61, 62, 67, 104, 117, 125. That is, it is only during the earlier portion of what was derived from an original similar to *HD* that *AE* felt it necessary to use the combination 'Alexander the Two-horned.' After the reader

had thus been trained to identify the 'Two-horned' with Alexander, the term 'Two-horned' was used alone as equivalent to Alexander. However even in this later portion the name Alexander was used separate from 'Two-horned.' From pp. 59 to 286 inclusive the term 'Two-horned' occurs by itself a total of 167 times. Could anything show more clearly the dependence of this part of *AE* on an original similar to *HD*? But even though many of the obviously moslem elements were removed in the transit from the Arabic, there remained still many telltale signs of its Arabic origin.

Not only did *AE* retain the symbolic epithet 'Two-horned' but also certain other traces of its Moslem origin, e.g. 'In the name of God the Merciful and Gracious' which occurs in *AE* on pp. 1 (introductory summary), 69 (Alexander's letter to Darius), 110 (Alexander's letter to Porus), 142 (Alexander's letter to Aristotle), 188 (Alexander's letter to Candace), 214 (response of the Amazons to Alexander), 215 (letter of Aristotle to Alexander), 291 (quotation from Alexander's letter to Olympias), 302 (last letter of Alexander to his mother), 306 (Aristotle's letter to Olympias).

Of the above cited passages from *AE*, that on p. 302 (the last letter of Alexander to his mother, who is not mentioned by name either here or in the corresponding passage in *HD* 106-7) is the only one which finds a corresponding expression in *HD*: 'En el nombre de Ala, clemente y misericordioso.' The passage in *AE* is much fuller, and this would seem to indicate that *HD* is an abridgment or condensation of that Arabic version that served as the original of the kernel portion of *AE*, i.e. roughly pp. 46-286.

Another recurring phrase is: 'There is no power save in God.' This occurs in *AE*, p. 54 (which is probably an echo of *HD* p. 5 top), and also in *AE*, p. 79 bottom. The refrain in *HD* is 'No hay poder ni fuerza sino en Ala altisimo y grande.'

That the Arabic is the source of these expressions seems to be established by the fact that neither of them occurs either in the Syrian *History of Alexander*, nor in the *Syrian Legend*, nor in the *Syrian Homily* of Jacob of Serug.

In *HD*, the Gog and Magog episode occurs four times at least: p. 17 (with special reference to *Koran* 18, 84 ff.); p. 34 (with special reference to the *Syrian Legend*, p. 150); pp. 45-46 (with special reference to *Koran* 18, 91 ff.); pp. 53-56 (with special reference to *Koran*, 18, 84-90). To these should be added the important passage pp. 76-80 which involves both *Koran*, 18, 98 (p. 79) and which reminds us also of the *Syrian Legend* pp. 148-156 and especially p. 154, with the significant difference that the bursting of the gate is forecast not for 826 nor yet for 940 years as in the *Syrian Legend*, but for 864 years, and with the substitution of Haraz (correctly interpreted by Gómez p. cxxxvii as referring to Khazars) for the

Huns. In *HD* this multiplication of episodes on the same general subject is to be explained through the use of several different sources dealing with the same general subject, e.g. of the *Syrian Legend* 148 ff. (which served as the general source of the *Koran* 18, 82 ff.), as well as the use of the *Koran* itself.

Gómez has gone far afield to explain the change from 826 or 940 to the year 864. He would interpret the figure 864 as referring to the year of the Hegira, i.e. October 29, 1459 to October 17, 1460, a time which he would regard as the *terminus post quem* for the writing of the MS. of *HD*. He has, however, overlooked the striking fact (brought out also in Noeldeke's *Beiträge*, see below) that this figure (864) occurs elsewhere, notably in *AE*, (cf. Budge, *op. cit.* II, 239). In this figure Budge suspected a corruption, but Bousset ('Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eschatologie,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XX (1899), 115 [on which page however 846 is a misprint for 864]) with truer discrimination saw that this represented a separate tradition. Gómez's interpretation would date the construction of Dulcarnain's Gate in 622 A.D. Aside from the inherent improbability of dating the construction of Dulcarnain's Gate in the very year of the institution of the Hegira (and that too when some of the Moslems dated Dulcarnain so far back as to make him a contemporary of Abraham), he has here made a proposal which militates against the antiquity of the *Historia de Dulcarnain*. Elsewhere (p. lxxxiv) he seems to date the manuscript as belonging to the fifth or the sixth century of the Hegira, perhaps about 1200 A.D.¹

The recovery of the supposedly lost Arabic Alexander Romance, *Historia*

¹ Cf. Noeldeke, *Beiträge*, 31, ftn. 1: 'S. Tillemont zu dem Jahre; Lebeau (hg. von Saint Martin) 7, 433 ff. Das Jahr ist durch Uebereinstimmung von Theophanes und Marcellinus Comes (Ind. VIII) gesichert. — Damit ergibt sich die Zahl 864 (= 552/3) beim Aethiopen [Budge cv, i.e. in the Introduction to the Syrian version] als entstellt, obwohl sie durch "860 des Letzten Tausends" in Mugmil attawârich (*Journ. asiatique* I, 360) unterstützt wird.' Elsewhere Noeldeke, *Beiträge*, 52, emphasizes the fact that Mugmil attawârich, a Persian writer who wrote in 1126 A.D., quoted the inscription in Arabic, i.e. from an Arabic source. Cf. Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage bei den Orientalen* (Leipzig, 1851), 53-54. Mohl's translation of the passage from Mugmil printed in the *Journ. asiatique* I (1841), 360 is as follows:

'Alexandre fit placer sur cette muraille lorsqu' elle fût achevée, l'inscription suivante: "Au nom de Dieu, le glorieux, le sublime! Cette muraille a été bâtie à l'aide de Dieu et elle durera ce que voudra Dieu. Mais lorsque huit cent et soixante ans du dernier millier seront passés, cette muraille se fendra dans le temps des grands péchés et crimes (du monde) et de la rupture des liens du sang et de l'endurcissement des coeurs, et il sortira de cette muraille une multitude d'hommes de ce peuple telle que Dieu seul en saura la nombre . . .'"

The geographical basis of the legend of Alexander's gate has been studied by the present writer in his article, 'Alexander at the Caspian Gates,' *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LIX (1928), 130-163. The concluding instalment of the study, *The Legend of Alexander's Gate, of Gog and Magog, and of the Inclosed Nations* is approaching completion.

de Dulcarnain, and the recognition that this was a principal source of the Ethiopian Alexander Romance necessitates an examination of the transformations that the Alexander Romance underwent in its transit between the Syrian *History of Alexander* (seventh century) and the Ethiopian *History of Alexander* (fourteenth to sixteenth century) as proposed in the theory of Weymann (*Die äthiopische und arabische Uebersetzung des Pseudocallisthenes* [Kirchhain, 1901], pp. 81–83) where he postulates three successive stages that the romance successively went through in Arabic before it was translated into Ethiopian, viz.:

(1) 'Auf der ersten war er ein getreuer Reflex wohl des ganzen Syr. Fraglich ist lediglich der Eingang mit Alexanders übernatürlicher Geburt.

(2) Auf der zweiten Stufe wurde nur der Kern beibehalten. Der Eingang des Romans wurde beiseitigt, um das Buch den Muslimen aus verschiedenen Gründen lesbarer zu machen Der Schluss aus Pseudocallisthenes wurde beiseitigt Die Vergiftungsgeschichte . . . ersetzte er sie durch die Erzählung nach der Alexander an einer Krankheit stirbt. Die Legende war jedenfalls in den Roman schon aufgenommen und wahrscheinlich auch schon die Partie von Alexander's Zug in die Finsternis und was sich daran anschließt AE 137/19–164/25 (pp. 242–286).

(3) In dieser Fassung ist der Roman in die Hände eines Arabers gekommen, wahrscheinlich in Aegypten, dem ein direct aus dem griechischen geflossener Pseudocallisthenes vorgelegen hat Den vorgefundenen Eingang hat er radikal beiseitigt und dafür den gesetzt, welchen wir jetzt in AE lesen. Da er ein lesbares Exemplar des Romans herstellen wollte, nahm er die im Kern infolge des neuen Eingangs notwendigen Aenderungen vor. . . . Am Schlusse verfuhr er mehr konservativ, weil z. B. Alexander's Trostbrief an seine Mutter auch seinen Geschmack hatte. So begnügte er sich denn, den neuen Schluss aus Pseudocallisthenes ohne weitere Verbindung mit den Vorangehenden anzufügen. Auf diese Weise wurde der Roman auf seine dritte Stufe gebracht auf der er uns in AE erhalten ist.'

While it is to be conceded that Weymann came astonishingly close to what seems to be the truth in most of his proposals, the following readjustments, corrections, and supplements are herewith proposed on the strength of the discovery of *HD* and the study of it in relation both to the Syrian *History of Alexander* and the Ethiopian *History of Alexander*:

1. While it is possible that an Arabic version similar to (1) may have existed *independently*, e.g., that of Mubaššir, it is very much to be doubted whether it ever existed as a preliminary version that was truncated to form (2).

2. The *Historia de Dulcarnain* corresponds in a general way to the specifications that Weymann lays down for (2). This version eliminated the Nectanebos episode, and substituted for it presumably the contents of the lost leaves 1 and 2 of the *Historia de Dulcarnain*, whatever that was. *HD* at the close has a different poisoning episode from that contained in the Syrian *History of Alexander*. This version (2) was made up out of the Syrian *History of Alexander*, the *Syrian Legend*, the *Koran* 18, 82 ff. and a number

of less important sources. An orthodox Moslem would observe that the hero of the Syrian *History of Alexander* and of the *Syrian Legend* was Alexander, of Greek birth, and that *Koran* 18, 82 ff. dealt with *Dulcarnain*. The redactor had to decide the problem what name to give his hero — Alexander,¹ or Dulcarnain, or Alexander Dulcarnain — and he gave proof of his orthodoxy by using the name Dulcarnain throughout, substituting it for Alexander. In strict consistency, he should have changed the name of the cities founded by Dulcarnain from Alexandria to Dulcarnainia (cf. *HD* 24 and 84). The *Historia de Dulcarnain* may therefore be described as the *Koranic Recension of the Alexander Romance*. The fact that the episode of the building of the Gate against Gog and Magog occurs at least four times in *HD* is explained by the fact that the episode occurred in at least two of the principal sources of *HD* — the *Syrian Legend* and the *Koran* — and the redactor by bifurcating each of these and copying each of these sources brought the total up to four, not reckoning the passage in which he treats the Khazars (Haraz) separately.

3. It may be gravely doubted whether even (3) ever existed in Arabic as a form from which the Ethiopian redactor translated it into Ethiopian. Rather is *AE* to be explained as a redaction made up out of *HD* of which both the beginning and the end were eliminated to make room for the restoration both of the episode of Nectanebos and of the episode of the poisoning of Alexander as related in the Greek versions of the legend. These restorations were probably but not necessarily made from the Greek; for it must be borne in mind that the Ethiopian redactor knew of versions of the *Alexander Romance* in other languages.²

The Ethiopian redactor also faced the problem of what to name his hero. Should he call him Dulcarnain, even as he was called in *HD* which served as his chief source from about pp. 46–286 inclusive, and should he carry through the use of this name for his hero even in the new additions made at the beginning (pp. 1–46) and at the end (pp. 287–353)? Or should he

¹ A similar state of things is found to exist in the more correct form in which the *Rekontamiento* has just been published by A. R. Nykl, *op. cit.* An examination of this text shows that the original title was *Kitābu ḥadīṯi Dzī-l-quarneini, Libro de la historia de Dulcarnain, Book of the history of Dulcarnain*. Alečkandar occurs as the name of the hero only in the title, which is probably a later addition, and in two places in the body of the text, in f. 2^v and in f. 9, where its use is to explain his Christian (!) ancestry, and why Alexandria is so named. Everywhere else it is Dulcarnain.

² Cf. *AE* vol. II, 291: 'Behold, now, the men of knowledge and understanding in the city of Alexandria are divided in their opinions about what was given to him, and they have studied carefully the writings which they had in their hands which spake of all his acts and deeds in the Greek, and Roman, and Coptic, and Berber, and Arabic Languages, and those who after them have learned to make investigations on the subject of him and his work, etc.'

use only the name Alexander as he found it in his new additions, changing the name Dulcarnain to Alexander in the part based on *HD* (roughly 46-286)? As a matter of fact he did neither, but adopted a compromise method. Up to p. 46, he used only the name Alexander. Throughout the ensuing portion based on *HD* (pp. 46-286) he used both Alexander alone, and 'Two-horned' (Dulcarnain) alone, but in the earlier portion of this he combines the term 'Two-horned' (Dulcarnain) with Alexander ten times ('Alexander the Two-horned,' see *supra* p. 440) to acquaint his readers with his new surname; then after establishing this, he frequently uses the term 'Two-horned' by itself alone to refer to Alexander. There is however no instance of the use of the term 'Two-horned' in the addition made at the end (pp. 287-353), where the only term used is Alexander.

ANDREW RUNNI ANDERSON,
Duke University

BLASPHEMY IN THE *LEX ROMANA CURIENSIS*

IN 1889 Karl Zeumer published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (*Leges*, Tom. v), a critical edition of the *Lex Romana Raetica Curiensis* or *Epitome Sancti Galli*. "This is a statement of legal custom, drawn up for the Romance population of Eastern Switzerland, and used in the Tyrol and Northern Italy as well."¹ It was written between the middle of the eighth and the middle of the ninth century,² and was probably compiled under ecclesiastical directions.³ It is 'based on a very imperfect abstract of the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, in which the *Institutes* of Gaius and the greater part of Paul's *Sententiae* are dropped, while the enactments of emperors are generally taken from the text of the "Interpretation."⁴ Written in Latin, the

¹ Paul Vinogradoff, *Roman Law in Medieval Europe* (2d ed. by F. de Zulueta, Oxford: University Press, 1929), pp. 21-22. The exact area over which this code was applied has been the subject of much controversy. See M. Conrat, *Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des römischen Rechts im früheren Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1891), I, 288-91 on place of origin. Also K. Zeumer, *Praefatio* to the *Lex Romana Raetica Curiensis* in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Leges* v, fasc. 3 (Hanover, 1888), 296-302; and K. Zeumer, 'Über Heimat und Alter der *Lex Romana Raetica Curiensis*,' *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte (Germanistische Abteilung)*, IX (1888), 1-52.

² H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1906), I, 518-25, says the *Epitome* originated in the later 8th century (perhaps before 766) and was certainly in popular use before 852 or 859. Cf. K. Zeumer, *Praefatio*, pp. 302-03, who believes the law was begun before 751 and completed later. Besides, one cannot avoid the idea that the authority of the Bavarian Dukes may have become relatively weak and so created the need for a new formulation of the older Roman Law of the *Breviary* before the time of the Carolingian Capitularies, and that the *Epitome S. Galli* was prepared privately at the behest of the Church to remedy this need before the deposition of Tassilo III and the end of Bavarian independence in 788 (or 794).

³ M. Conrat, *op. cit.*, I, 288, n. 5; H. Brunner, *op. cit.*, I, 517.

grammar and mode of expression are most barbarous, while the sense of the Roman Law is often completely misunderstood or changed.¹ Christian and Germanic influences have combined to debase the clear and logical definitions of the Roman *ius* as well as the *constitutiones* of the emperors into Romanesque or Romance customary law.² Indeed, this *Epitome* carries us the very place where the solid highway of the Roman legal system either loses itself amid the pathless swamps and forests of Germanic custom or dwindles into the rough and rut-filled lanes and by-ways of the *Vulgärrecht*.³ Vinogradoff cites several instances from the civil procedure that illustrate this point.⁴

There is, however, another passage which the great Oxford scholar did not touch upon that holds important implications for the fields of political theory and of public criminal law: another passage illuminating the dim area where statute law and popular custom intermingle and modify one another reciprocally. *Lex Romana Curiensis* 9, 3 may be translated as follows:

'Save for the crime of majesty a slave may not accuse his master nor may a freedman accuse his patron or other member of the household.

'If any slave shall wish to accuse his master or any freedman his patron, unless,

⁴ P. Vinogradoff, *op. cit.*, p. 22. K. Zeumer, *Praefatio*, p. 302, believes it was derived from a recension related to the *Epitome* of Aegidius. H. Brunner, *op. cit.*, I, 518, says the compiler did not use the *Breviary* in its official version, but in some denatured modified form that coincides with none of the known epitomes.

¹ Cf. Introduction to G. Haenel's edition of the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* (Leipzig, 1849), p. xxxi: 'Et quod ad sermonem attinet, non solum verba Breviarii, quae non poterat omitttere, ad barbarorum modum et elocutionem mutavit, formavit interque se coniunxit, verum etiam alia aliis substituit et insolita in regionem suam a barbaris demum introducta immiscuit effectitque, ut liber non latina, sed alia quadam lingua scriptus videatur, quae everso romano imperio in Occidentis aliqua parte a barbarorum Romanorumque promiscua multitudine paulatim ficta est.'

² P. Vinogradoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24: 'It is evident that we are in the presence of a rather debased and Germanized form of legal custom, engrafted on fragments of what had been once a system of Imperial law.' K. Zeumer, *Praefatio*, p. 289, notes that the law was not issued publicly but, instead, was prepared privately by some person who did not wish to set forth anything new but merely to transform and expound the ancient statutes of the Roman Law in accordance with the needs of his own time.

³ K. Zeumer, *Praefatio*, *loc. cit.*: 'Pleraque tamen in hac lege Raetica ita mutata atque ad modum et rationem legum et morum Germanorum redacta esse, ut non modo non genuinum *ius Romanorum*, sed ne vulgare quidem continere videatur.' Also H. Brunner, *op. cit.*, I, 517: 'Die Abweichungen von der *Lex Romana Visigothorum* beruhen zum Teil auf römischen Vulgarrecht, zum Teil führen sie auf deutsches, insbesondere auf fränkisches Recht zurück.' The compiler's misconceptions of Roman Law are often determined and controlled by his knowledge of local Germanic custom. Brunner adds (I, 518): 'Für römisches Vulgarrecht ist seine Arbeit die reichhaltigste Fundgrube.'

⁴ P. Vinogradoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

perchance, he can prove that the master himself or the patron himself has blasphemed against God or unless he can prove said master or patron to be pagans, let them be free of his accusation. If these charges are made truly, then the freedman or slave shall depart freely and unharmed; but if they shall lie about these matters, or if, perchance, the freedman shall accuse his patron or the slave his master for any other cause whatsoever before any judge, let that judge have them punished capitally at the very beginning of their accusation.¹

The disparity between the heading and the body of the law must be evident at once to the most casual observer since the 'crime of majesty' is scarcely to be confused with blasphemy and paganism.² It is one's first impression that the ecclesiastical compiler of this *Epitome* has either misunderstood the significance of *maiestas* as it is commonly employed in Roman Law or else has introduced into the passage new ideas conforming more closely to the needs and interests of his more Germanic age. Blasphemy and pagan practices were evils that beset clerics and missionaries carrying the Gospel into the rude frontier country of the Saxon, Avar, and Slavic marches.³ We must remember that such scholars as Haenel, Conrat, and Tardif assign the *Epitome* to the later eighth century,⁴ and St Boniface (d. 755) had been scouring over the Germanic lands in behalf of righteousness

¹ *Lex Romana Raetica Curiensis* 9, 3 (*Lex Romana Visigothorum, Codex* 9, 3, 2 *Interpretatio*) according to Zeumer's text:

'Ne preter crimen magistratus servus dominum vel patronum libertus seu familiares acuset. Imp. Valentinus. Data Id. Mar. Interpretatio.

'Si quis servus dominum suum aut libertus patronum suum acusare voluerit, nisi forsitan probare poterit, quid ipse dominus aut ipse patronus contra Deum blasphemasset, aut paganus eos probare poterit, de tale accusatione licenciam habeant. Et si vero dixerint, ipse libertus aut servus sine omne iniuria liberi abscedant; nam si de hoc mentierint, aut si forsitan de alia quaecumque causa libertus patronum aut servus dominum suum ad quaecumque iudice accusaverint, de presentem in ipsa ora accusationis iudex eos capite punire faciat.'

Zeumer notes the correct accusative form, *paganos*, as appearing in MS. 3493 of the Library of the University of Leipzig. The same MS. also employs the spellings, *magestatis, blasphemasset*. Cf. Haenel's Introduction, p. xxxi, n. 103 for numerous examples of the barbarized vocabulary. Also see *ibid.*, p. 177 for Haenel's abbreviated text of this passage.

² Cf. my study, *Crimen Laesae Maiestatis* in the *Lex Romana Wisigothorum, SPECULUM*, IV (1929), 79-80, and p. 80, n. 1, for text, translation and comment on *Codex Theodosianus*, 9, 6, 3, *Interpretatio* (L.R.V. C. 9, 3, 2) *Ne Praeter Crimen Maiestatis Servus Dominum vel Patronum Libertus seu Familiaris Accuset*, the passage in the *Breviary* upon which this provision of the *Epitome* is based.

³ J. W. Thompson, *Feudal Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 171, n. 1, points out that paganism continued among the Saxons until the 12th century in some localities. Cf. *ibid.*, Ch. XII for the conversion of the Slavs and the persistence of paganism among the Trans-Elbeian Slavs. The Avars may have been converted toward the close of the eighth century. See C. A. Macartney, 'Avars,' *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed., London and New York, 1929), II, 792.

⁴ *SPECULUM*, IV (1929), 76, n. 3.

not so much earlier.¹ The strong hand of Charlemagne was only beginning to reach across the Rhaetian Alps toward the eastern marches.² For such men and for such a time the basic meaning of the *maiestas* of Rome and her emperors must have been lost in the distant past or existed vaguely in the legendary background of imperial tradition that formed such a splendid portion of the mediaeval inheritance from Rome.³ Legal ideas and legal

¹ See H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind* (4th ed., New York: Macmillan 1925) I, 197-200 on St Boniface-Winfried and his part in 'The Conversion of the North,' and *The Life of Saint Boniface* by Willibald, trans. by G. W. Robinson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916), with Introduction, pp. 11-20. Cf. J. W. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-96 on missionary work in early mediaeval Germany; p. 583 on the organization of the church in Bavaria by Boniface; pp. 467 and 473; also J. W. Thompson, *The Middle Ages, 300-1500* (New York: Knopf, 1931), I, 236-37.

² K. Zeumer, *Praefatio*, p. 290, says that the *Lex* speaks of a king (*rex*) frequently, whereas an emperor (*imperator*) is never mentioned, and that, for this reason, such authorities as Haenel, Stobbe, Planta, and Pertile have concluded that the law was compiled toward the close of the 8th century. Cf. Brunner's contention in *op. cit.*, I, 520 that the *Lex* must have originated either before or after the period, 800-843: 'Da an verschiedenen Stellen vom König, nirgends vom Kaiser die Rede ist, dürfte die *Lex* zu einer Zeit abgefasst worden sein, als Rätien nicht unter einem Kaiser, sondern nur unter einem König stand.'

Also see J. W. Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, pp. 468-69: 'In 789 Charlemagne began the long and relentless war between the races (Teuton and Slav) which was to endure for centuries by attacking the Wilzi. In 806 he fixed the official frontier along the Elbe and Saale rivers, which was protected by a line of forts,' and p. 468, n. 4 for the *Limes Saxoniae* and *Limes Sorabicus*. This excellent work on German eastward expansion establishes the geographical frontiers on an exact chronological basis. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 531 on line of trading posts in 805 along the Slavonic frontier, and the map facing p. 532. Professor Thompson (pp. 585-86) mentions the organization of the Ostmark at the diet of Regensburg in 803, the extension of the chain of Marches southward along the eastern frontier to the head of the Adriatic, and the subjugation of the Avars (803 and 811). Since Rhaetia lay closer to the Avar and South Slavic frontiers than to the Saxons in the North, it seems probable that the references to paganism in the *Epitome S. Galli* may very well have arisen from conditions prevailing before the destruction of the Avar power. Also note Thompson (p. 619) on Charlemagne's contacts with Bohemia in 788 (erection of the Nordgau or Bohemian Mark), 791, 805 (invasion of Bohemia to 'convert' the heathen Czechs), and 807. Cf. G. Seelinger, 'Conquests and Imperial Coronation of Charles the Great,' *Camb. Med. Hist.* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1913), II, 606-609 on Bavaria and the Avars; also *ibid.*, maps 26a and 26b by F. Peisker, showing the Western Front of Slavdom in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Also see J. W. Thompson, *Middle Ages*, Ch. x.

³ Law, as well as poetry, aided in creating the imperial tradition, and the conception of *majesty* in some hazy misty form was very possibly as potent as Vergil's songs celebrating 'the glories and greatness of eternal Rome.' In a general way, it conveyed the idea of the power and grandeur of the past. Cf. C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), pp. 105-106 and quotation from D. Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages* (reprint New York: Stechert, 1929), p. 74. Note Comparetti's further remark that Vergil's fame 'as interpreter of that Roman sentiment which survived the downfall of the Empire' was preserved by Justinian 'in the most perfect monument of the practical wisdom of the Romans which has survived' (p. 74, n. 78 referring to the *Institutes* and *Digest*). He might have added that the entire *Corpus* of the Roman Law served in mani-

influences operate in various subtle ways to modify the cast of thought and to give it a new direction during the Middle Ages, the ideas themselves often being altered or changed in the process of transmission. Grant Showerman has said 'Rome is the epitome of occidental civilization';¹ and, it may be added, the memorial of the Roman Law is writ large therein.

If we turn back to the *Breviary* and the *Theodosian Code* for the *constitutio* of Arcadius and Honorius and especially for the subjoined *interpretatio* upon which this passage depends,² we discover that the important clause of 'exception' reads 'nisi forte dominum aut patronum de crimine maiestatis tractasse probaverit.'³ Nothing here suggests the idea of blaspheming the God of the Christians, nor does any other legislation in the *Code*, as far as I am aware, indicate specifically that such blasphemy could be construed as *laesa maiestas*.⁴ Nevertheless, this was the age that saw the concluding scenes of the dramatic struggle between paganism and Christianity for the official sanction and support of the State.⁵ Mommsen points out that religious freedom was definitely ended by the famous decree of 379 which commanded that all heresies forbidden by divine laws and the imperial constitutions should cease and be laid at rest forever.⁴ Henceforth Catholic Christianity should be orthodox and universal. In 384 and 385 sacrilege, perhaps in the sense of heresy, had been enumerated among the unpardon-

fold ways as an interpreter of Roman sentiment and wisdom for later ages, perhaps a more pervasive symbol of pagan antiquity than the poet himself.

¹ Showerman, *Eternal Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924), II, 586.

² *C.Th.*, 9,6,3 (*L.R.V.*, C.9,3,2) *Imp. Arcadius et Honorius AA. Eutychiano Praefecto Praetorio* (8 November, 397).

³ In the criminal law of the Roman codes and of the Roman jurists, the 'great exception' relates primarily to accusations by slaves or freedmen and to the interrogation and torturing of slaves or freedmen in cases involving the infliction of capital punishment on their masters or patrons. See *SPECULUM*, IV (1929), 79-81.

⁴ See T. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 598 for *blasphemia*; also pp. 579-80 for the related pagan conception of *iniuria*; and p. 580, n. 1, citing the interesting passage from *Codex Iustinianus*, 4, 1, 2 *De Rebus Creditis et de Iureiurando* which reads: *Iurisiurandi contempta religio satis deum ultorem habet*. Observe that this phrase is taken from a *constitutio* of the pagan emperor, Severus Alexander, and was retained by Justinian's compilers. However, one can hardly determine whether Justinian meant to approve the pagan principle of *iniuria* and transfer it into the *Code* for Christian practice and application.

⁵ For a detailed discussion of the laws against paganism and heresy in the *Theodosian Code*, see W. K. Boyd, *The Ecclesiastical Edicts of the Theodosian Code* (New York, 1905) (Vol. xxiv, No. 2 in *Columbia Studies in History Economics and Public Law*), pp. 15-70. For the contest with paganism, see J. W. Thompson, *Middle Ages*, I, 42-46.

⁶ *C.Th.*, 16,5,5 *De Haereticis*; *C.Iust.*, 1,5,2 *De Haereticis et Manichaeis et Samaritis*: 'omnes vetitae legibus et divinis et imperialibus constitutionibus haereses perpetuo conualescant,' quoted in T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 595-96, and p. 596, n. 1. For the subsequent legislation on heresy, see W. K. Boyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-50.

able capital crimes.¹ Similarly the tables were turned against paganism, and the Christian emperors now forbade their pagan subjects all public exercise of their cult including sacrifices and meetings, and pronounced the penalty of death with confiscation of goods upon those who refused to forsake their pagan deities.² And in 392 all such offenders were declared guilty of *laesa maiestas*.³ It should be noted that as time went on and as paganism fell farther into its decline, heresy acquires importance as the chief form of *laesa religio*; the heretic has become more dangerous than the pagan.⁴ James Westfall Thompson points out that 'by 400 the Church had nearly extirpated paganism in the cities and begun the so-called "evangelization of the fields",' but owing to the conservative attachment of the peasantry for the ancient rites, paganism was not proscribed in the rural districts until 407.⁵ Despite severe repression the old cults remained respectable still in certain quarters and were not destroyed suddenly or at once. 'For a long time (they) continued to claim the most distinguished families in the city of Rome and all the circles that represented literature and philosophy in such cities as Alexandria and Athens.'⁶ The spirit of Julian lived on in pagan

¹ T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 600, n. 4, referring to *C.Th.*, 9,38,7-8 *De Indulgentiis Criminum*. *C.Th.*, 9,38,8 = *L.R.V.* C.9,28,1 which is carried over into the *Epitome S. Galli*. However, the words *reus maiestatis* disappear in the *Epitome*. Mommsen argues from the expression *sacrilegus in maiestate* in *C.Th.*, 9,38,3 that the term sacrilegus can here relate only to heresy. But in *C.Th.*, 8,38,7 the context leads me to believe the word may be used technically, referring to violation of a church or sacred place. Cf. *C.Th.*, 16,2,25 *De Episcopis, Ecclesiis, et Clericis*: 'Qui divinae legis sanctitatem aut nesciendo confundunt aut neglegendo violant et offendunt, sacrilegium committunt' (A.D. 380), quoted by Boyd (p. 51).

² Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, article 'Maestas' by G. Humbert and Ch. Lécrivain (Paris, 1904), III (2), 1559.

³ *C.Th.*, 16,10,12 *De Paganis, Sacrificiis, et Templis*: 'Quod si quispiam immolare hostiam sacrificaturus audebit et spirantia exta consulere, ad exemplum maiestatis reus licita cunctis accusatione delatus excipiat sententiam competentem, etiamsi nihil contra salutem principum aut de salute quaesierit.'

⁴ T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 607; also note *ibid.*, p. 599, n. 1 showing that delicts against Christianity cease to be considered as treason, although *lèse-majesté* and heresy are united by ties of origin. Cf. W. K. Boyd, *op. cit.*, p. 31, n. 3.

⁵ J. W. Thompson, *An Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages* (New York: Century, 1928), p. 82. See *C.Th.*, 16,10,19 *De Paganis, Sacrificiis et Templis*: 'Simulacra, si qua etiam nunc in templis fanisque consistunt et quae alicubi ritum vel acceperunt vel accipiunt paganorum, suis sedibus evellantur, cum hoc repetita sciamus saepius sanctione decretum. Aedificia ipsa templorum, quae in civitatibus vel oppidis vel extra oppida sunt, ad usum publicum vindicentur. Arae locis omnibus destruantur omniaque templa in possessionibus nostris ad usus adcommodos transferantur; domini destruere cogantur. Non liceat omnino in honorem sacrilegi ritus funestioribus locis exercere convivia vel quicquam sollemnitatis agitare.' This decree was issued by Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius, and is dated 15 November, 408 (407), at Rome. Cf. original meaning of word *paganus*, as peasant or countryman in T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 605, n. 4.

⁶ E. M. Hulme, *The Middle Ages* (New York: Holt, 1929), pp. 36-37.

hearts.¹ In any case, we find certain *constitutiones* of the *Theodosian Code* declare definitely that adherence to paganism was a violation of majesty; but the problem raised by blasphemy is even more involved.

How are we to account for the fact that the compiler wrote what he did under this particular caption of *L.R.V. C.9,3,2 Interpretatio*? In the first place, it may be best to note the relation of blasphemy (*blasphēmāre*) to malediction (*malēdicere*) in mediaeval Latin usage. DuCange following Casaubon says that the term 'malediction' was taken over by the Christians from the pagans,² while he points out that 'blasphemy' is used in the Scriptures and among ecclesiastical writers to designate impious speech and malediction against God.³ At any rate, *maledicere* is found frequently in classical Latin writings and becomes technically a special offence in Roman Law involving the utterance of curses and reproaches, and the casting of foul or abusive words against the emperors,⁴ whereas *blasphemare* is an ecclesiastical Latin word derived from the Greek *βλασφημεῖν*, to speak profanely, and thence transferred to Latin in the *Vulgate* and Church Fathers. The *New English Dictionary of Historical Principles* states that the word 'blaspheme' became popular in late Latin in the sense of 'revile, reproach'; and in its transitive form, it has evolved into the common modern sense, 'To speak irreverently of or utter impiety against God or anything sacred.'⁵ Harper's *New Latin Dictionary* indicates that both words are synonymous, meaning 'to revile,' and cites examples of their usage in

¹ Cf. E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press⁷ 1928), pp. 137-98 for capital punishment inflicted on pagans a century later (ca. 525). Professor Rand's citation from *Edictum Theoderici Regis*, c. 108, is highly significant, for while it does not classify the offering of 'sacrifice according to the Pagan rite' (*pagano ritu sacrificare*) as *crimen laesae maiestatis*, nevertheless such acts are associated with sorcery, divination and magical practices (*arioli, umbrarii, malefici*) and bring the death penalty. Cf. *SPECULUM*, IV (1929), 82 with notes 3-4 on the relation of *hæc majesté* to *mathematici, harioli, haruspices, vaticinatores*. Also cf. T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 584 with n. 4-5.

² DuCange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (Paris, 1840-50), IV, 202 quotes Papias: 'Imprecari mala, quod vulgo dicitur *Maledicere*,' and adds further: 'Hinc *maledictus* vox Christianorum, pro *ἐπικατάρατος*, gliscente Christianismo sensim usurpata a Paganis, ut observat Casaubonus ad Spartianum in Geta.'

³ *Ibid.*, I, 700, comments on *Blasphemare*: 'Occurrit etiam passim in Scripturis sacris et apud Scriptores Ecclesiasticos pro *Maledicere* Deo, impie loqui,' and 'Utraque etiam notione, pro vituperare scilicet et impie in Deum vel Sanctos loqui suum *βλασφημεῖν* sumunt Graeci.'

⁴ Cf. Paulus, *Sententiae*, 5,29,1. The best text of the *Sentences* may be found in the first fascicule of the second volume of P. E. Huschke, *Iurisprudentia anteiustiniana* (6th ed. by E. Seckel and B. Kübler, Leipzig: Teubner, 1911). Also note that malediction involves legal principles similar to those applied in counterfeiting, and possibly sorcery and the consulting of *haruspices*.

⁵ See *A New English Dictionary of Historical Principles*, edited by J. A. H. Murray (Oxford, 1888), I (2), 904 for *blaspheme*; *ibid.* (1908), VI (2), 81 for *malediction*.

ecclesiastical Latin.¹ It is difficult to draw a clear-cut line between the usage of each, though *blasphemare*, unlike *maledicere*, is not classical Latin. However, in my opinion, if any line of distinction is to be drawn, malediction refers most typically to execrations or curses cast upon the divine emperor, the pagan deities, or even individuals, while blasphemy relates more particularly to profanity directed against the Christian God or other features of worship held especially sacred and holy among Christians. Nevertheless, one must bear in mind their similar or synonymous usage in ecclesiastical Latin.

Next we must consider that the compiler of the *Epitome Sancti Galli* was an ecclesiastic or other person well educated for his time and locality, and so acquainted with the *Vulgate* and some Roman Law from the *Breviary*. Is it not reasonable to suppose that, given these two closely synonymous terms, he might employ the ecclesiastical Latin word, *blasphemare*, in his reconstruction of the law, although *maledicere* is the word employed in the older codes? The passage in question, *C. Th.*, 9,6,3 (*L.R.V. C.9,3,2*) with its *Interpretatio*, does not deal with malediction as a phase of *crimen laesae maiestatis*, but *C. Th.*, 9,4,1 *Si Quis Imperatori Maledixerit*, which is found near at hand in the same Ninth Book and would presumably be still in the mind of an excerptor when he reached *C. Th.*, 9,6,3, treats specifically of the matter of cursing the divine emperor. However, *C. Th.*, 9,4,1 is not found in the *Breviary*, and, as we have no reason for supposing the compiler of the *Epitome Sancti Galli* to have had the original *Theodosian Code* before him, we cannot assert that our passage was influenced by *C. Th.*, 9,4,1.

Let us now turn to Paulus, *Sententiae*, 5,29,1 (*L.R.V. Paulus* 5,31,1) *Ad Legem Iuliam Maiestatis*. In this oft-quoted passage of Roman Law, the crime of *laesa maiestas* is defined comprehensively, though concisely, and here Paulus mentions *verbis impiis ac maledictis*.² This passage is not found in the *Epitome Sancti Galli* since the Fifth Book of the *Sentences* ends at *L.R.V. P.5,7,14* in our texts, but there is no necessary reason for supposing that the compiler of the *Epitome* was unaware of this provision in the *Breviary*.³ Also *Lex Romana Curiensis* 27,8,1 uses *maledicere* in connection with cursing other people generally as follows: 'Qui alterum hominem sine causa maledicit, in contumilio deputetur aut fustigetur.'⁴ The significance

¹ See Appendix A at the end of this article.

² See SPECULUM, IV (1929), 78, for translation of Paul. *Sent.*, 5,29,1 (*L.R.V. P.5,31,1*); 77, n. 3 for text; 78, n. 9-10 on *verbis impiis*. Cf. J. F. H. Abegg, 'Zur Geschichte des römischen *crimen maiestatis*, im Verhältnis zu dem *crimen impietatis* und dem s.g. *crimen laesae venerationis*,' *Archiv des Criminalrechts (Neue Folge)*, Jahrgang 1853 (Zweites Stück), pp. 290-31.

³ Vinogradoff's conclusion that the *Epitome S. Galli* is derived from a very imperfect abstract of the *Breviary* does not necessarily invalidate our assumption in this connection. Cf. p. 2, n. 1 *supra*.

of this quotation resides in the fact that the word meaning malediction does actually appear in this compilation. This leads to the conclusion that, while malediction appears nowhere in the *Epitome* in the accepted usage of the Roman Law, as cursing or reviling a deified emperor, still there is no reason for disbelieving that the compiler knew that malediction was associated with the *crimen laesae maiestatis*. Always bearing in mind that such negative inferences as this fall far short of positive proof, we are now in the position to ask: What could be more natural for a Christian writer of this frontier region in the later eighth century than to substitute the offence of blaspheming the Christian God for the *crimen laesae maiestatis* in which malediction against the divine emperors played an essential part, and to employ the ecclesiastical Latin word *blasphemare* which was found in the *Vulgate* and Church Fathers for *maledicere*, the expression common to the Roman Law in classical times?¹ The Christian God seemed very close and very real; the pagan emperors were receding into the mists of the past and assuming the dim outlines that tradition wove for them. God sat mightily on his throne in those days above holy men who labored where the heathen were always close at hand. Cursing the mortal rulers of this world, long since passed away, could not be mentioned in the same breath with blaspheming that ruler in Eternity whom Sacred Writ made sovereign of the Kingdom of Heaven and whom Augustine made master of his City of God.²

In the matter of adherence to paganism (*aut paganus eos probare potuerit*), one must conclude that the *Epitome* relates to local conditions and does not represent a transfer of Roman Law.³ It is true that in 392 Arcadius declared persons guilty of *laesa maiestas* who refused to forsake their pagan deities (*C. Th.*, 16,10,12), but no part of the *Theodosian Code* (particularly the Sixteenth Book), supporting this position, passed on into the *Breviary*. Hence one cannot assume that any such provisions were accessible to the compiler of the *Lex Romana Curiensis*.

Finally if the problem be approached from the broader angle of political

¹ This is based on Paul. *Sent.*, 5,4,19: 'Maledictum itemque convicium publice factum ad iniuriae vindictam revocatur; quo facto condemnatus infamis efficitur.'

² The verb *blasphemare* and kindred forms do not appear in the *Theodosian Code* within the limits of my observation. Robert Mayr, *Vocabularium Codicis Iustiniani, Pars prior (Pars Latina)*, (Prague: Česká Grafická Unie, 1923) cites forms of this word in *C. Iust.*, 3,43,1 and 3,43,2,2 *De Aleae Lusu et Aleatoribus*, but they are employed in unrelated contexts and belong to a later date (ca. 529).

³ The Church Fathers display a tendency to associate the idea of *majesty*, at least in its highest sense, with God rather than with any earthly state or prince.

⁴ This opinion receives further support from the clause 'nisi si illus incredulus et paganus probare potuerit,' found in *Lex Rom. Cur.*, 23,14,1 which is a revision of Paul. *Sent.*, 1,12,4 *De Iudiciis Omnibus*. This clause does not appear in the *Breviary* and must have been added to the *Epitome* because of local considerations.

theory, any scholar, familiar with the researches of Mommsen,¹ will recognize the close relation of *laesa maiestas* to the *laesae religiones*.² Indeed, it is an ancient subject, for one may find Ulpian quoted in the Digest to the effect that 'the crime which is related most closely to sacrilege is that called the crime of majesty.'³ Not only the Roman lawyers but the Church Fathers perceived the intimate association between majesty and religion. Patristic, as well as juristic, literature supports this point of view. Thus, Tertullian in his *Apologeticus* defines vigorously the distinctions and connections between these two types of offences.⁴ We have a broad highway running from sedition (*seditio*) and treason against land and folk (*perduellio* or *Landesverrat*) through high treason (*Hochverrat*) and related crimes of majesty including counterfeiting, malediction, sorcery, and various injuries and insults to the imperial person, to sacrilege, impiety, blasphemy and heresy.⁵ This entire nexus of crimes forms one organically correlated whole which holds as true for the ninth century as it had for the third century.⁶

¹ Cf. T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 567-80; 595-611. Also see Daremberg et Saglio, *op. cit.* III (2), 1559 and notes. A concise substantial survey with splendid bibliography has recently appeared in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, art. '*Maiestas*' by B. Kübler (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1928), xxvii, 542-559.

² See T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 569-70 on *crimen laesae romanae religionis*. Also Humbert observes in Daremberg et Saglio, *op. cit.*, III (2), 1558, that 'the sacred character of the emperors contributed to transform every injury into the crime of *lèse-majesté*, making it an *impiety*.' Cf. *ibid.*, III (2), 1559 and n. 18-19, pointing out that Christians were considered *âmes* declared guilty of *perduellio*, and treated as public enemies (*hostes publici*).

³ *Digest* 48,4,1 *Ad Legem Iuliam Maiestatis*: 'Proximum sacrilegio crimen est, quod maiestatis dicitur.' Cf. Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law before the Time of Edward I* (2d ed., Cambridge, 1898), II, 505, n. 4: 'The Roman idea of *maiestas* includes a religious element; falsifying Caesar's image is a kind of sacrilege'; also note the reference to *C. Iust.*, 9,24,2 *De Falsa Moneta*, which speaks of a *crimen obnoxii maiestatis*.

⁴ Cf. Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, cap. 10, 24, 27, 28, 35. These references are cited by T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 569, n. 2, who remarks that 'divinity and the imperial dignity always go hand in hand.'

⁵ See Appendix B for bibliographical suggestions.

⁶ In the third century *laesa maiestas* involved both religious and political factors since the ruler of the Roman world was god as well as emperor. By the close of the fifth century the Christian structure of human society made possible a differentiation between the spiritual (ecclesiastical) and temporal (imperial) spheres of government which could not occur in connection with pagan conceptions of 'god-kingship.' This tendency would have set a boundary between treason proper and the religious offences of sacrilege, impiety and heresy. Cf. R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West* (Vol. I. The Second Century to the Ninth), (2d ed., Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1927), pp. 190-92 on the Gelasian theory of the two spheres, *sacerdotium* and *regnum*; also p. 190 for Satan's device of the religious powers of the pagan emperors confounding the two spheres, Christ Himself being the only 'true and perfect king and priest'; p. 256. See *ibid.*, Ch. XXI (The Relation of the Authorities of Church and State) for the invasion of the two 'Vicars of God,' kings and bishops, upon each other's proper sphere in the ninth century. The logical con-

Hence, it was easy for the compiler of the *Epitome Sancti Galli* to substitute blasphemy against God which is properly numbered among the *laesae religiones* for malediction or other *laesa maiestas* against a human emperor in the light of current political and religious conceptions. The legal theory supports the linguistic usage. But again our inference falls short of documented historical proof. Special local influences or individual circumstances of which we have no record may hold the true key to the solution of this problem.¹ History is always filled with pitfalls when approached subjectively.

The results of this study may be summarized as follows: 1) This provision of the *Lex Romana Curiensis* provides evidence of the paganism that lingered long beyond the eastern marches and of the struggles of Christianity to advance among the heathen during the great German expansion at the expense of Slavdom. The reference to paganism cannot relate to the paganism of antiquity, but must apply to the heathen of the Avar and Slavic marches or possibly to unconverted Teutons. 2) It shows local customs and habits of thought, under Christian and Germanic influences, in the process

sequence of this encroachment was a more organic correlation of *laesa religio* with *laesa maiestas*, a condition that flourished long and matured its choicest fruit under the 'Godly Princes' of the 16th century in the identification of treason and heresy. Thus, when Henry VIII became head of the English Church, he did away with all competing authority and absorbed all obedience to himself, and it may be noted that still later the Presbyterians opposed the 'Godly Prince' on the Gelasian principle of the spheres, spiritual and temporal. And the subsequent development of the idea of the spheres has led finally to the modern attitude of government toward religion with the separation of Church and State. This would account for the vast gulf separating mediaeval from modern thought in the matter of the relation of treason to the religious offences. The typical mediaeval conception represents a tendency toward integration of these offences; the modern a strict differentiation. Cf. J. N. Figgis, *Studies of Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius (1414-1625)*, (2d ed., Cambridge University Press, 1923), p. 55, who supports the same general point of view when he describes the Presbyterian theory of the *two distinct kingdoms* (Church and State), although he does not specifically associate this with the Gelasian principle of the spheres. Also see *ibid.*, pp. 64, 163. For a definitive analysis of this position, see the Introduction to *The Political Works of James I* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), pp. xvii-xxiv, by Professor Charles H. McIlwain of Harvard University whose generous aid and interest have been a constant encouragement to me in my study of legal history.

¹ Zeumer's description of the manuscript sources in *Praefatio*, pp. 291-96 suggests no clue to an answer that might be traced through external criticism of the codices, unless such examination might indicate why the Fifth Book of Paul's *Sentences* ends so abruptly at *L.R.V. P.5,7,14* in the *Epitome*. His definitive text is based on three separate MSS: A1) *Codex bibliothecae monasterii S. Galli, No. 722* (formerly *D.184*) which dates from the 9th century and is, in large part, palimpsest, rewritten over *S. Hilarii expositio psalmodum* (ca. 6th cent.); A2) *Codex bibliothecae universitatis Lipsiensis, No. 3493* (9th-10th cent.); B) *Codex archivi monasterii S. Galli xxx* (9th cent.). A1 and A2 derive from a common source and usually provide the sounder text.

of modifying an earlier system of universal statutes. 3) It reveals a conspicuous omission of the idea of *maiestas* in the usual sense of the Roman Law that is characteristic of many Germanic codes, but which, in this instance, can only be interpreted as a deliberately intended alteration, possessing genuine significance for the compiler. 4) It makes a curious and conscious substitution of *laesa religio* for *laesa maiestas*; injury to a human ruler is supplanted by insult to a divine ruler. Since these two types of offense are organically related in legal and political theory, this passage affords an interesting example of the interchange and transfer of ideas. Furthermore, in this respect, the passage is quite unique throughout the entire range of Germanic customary law.

Of course, one must recognize that the conclusions to which our special argument regarding the specific manner of interchange points would be still more convincing if we could assume that the compiler of the *Epitome* had access to the entire *Theodosian Code* rather than a garbled text of the *Breviary*, for the original *Code* did declare adherence to paganism a form of *laesa maiestas*, and the relation of malediction to the crimes against majesty is more intimate and apparent there.¹ However, without regard to the exact process of the compiler's thought or to the precise way in which the transfer occurred, the fact of the modified passage remains and attests a significant change in attitude toward the antique Roman conception of majesty. Finally, I would add that this study is largely suggestive to the end that legal materials be not neglected in reconstructing the intellectual activity of the Middle Ages.

FLOYD SEYWARD LEAR,
The Rice Institute, Houston, Texas

APPENDIX

A. Blasphemy in the *Vulgate*

An examination of the dictionary evidence, based on the *Vulgate*, especially *Lev. xxiv* (*poena blasphemorum et talionis*) and *Matt. xxvi*, reveals a number of correspondences and similarities in usage. Several of the ensuing references are given in Harper's *New Latin Dictionary* (ed. Lewis and Short) without quotation.

Lev. xxiv, 11: Cumque blasphemasset nomen, et maledixisset ei, adductus est ad Moysen; *xxiv, 14*: Educ blasphemum extra castra; *xxiv, 15-16*: Homo, qui maledixerit Deo suo, portabit peccatum suum: et qui blasphemaverit nomen Domini, morte moriatur; *xxiv, 23*: qui blasphemaverat; *Num. v, 23*: Scribetque sacerdos in libello ista maledicta, et delebit ea aquis amarissimis, in quas maledicta congressit, et dabit ei bibere; *xxii, 6*: Veni igitur, et maledic populo huic, quia fortior me est: si quo modo possim percutere et eicere eum de terra mea. novi enim quod benedictus sit cui benedixeris, et maledictus in quem maledicta congresseris; *I Par. xx, 7*: Hic blasphemavit Israel; *Matt. ix, 3*: Et ecce quidam de Scribis dixerunt intra se: Hic blasphemat; *xii, 31*: Ideo dico vobis: Omne peccatum et blasphemia remittetur

¹ See Appendix C regarding the possible influence of Germanic customary law.

hominibus, spiritus autem *blasphemia* non remittetur; xxvi, 65: Tunc princeps sacerdotum scidit vestimenta sua, dicens: *Blasphemavit*: quid adhuc egemus testibus? ecce nunc audistis *blasphemiam*: quid vobis videtur? Acta apost. xxiii, 4: Summum sacerdotum Dei *maledicis*? Acta apost. xxiii, 5: Principem populi tui non *maledices*. Also cf. *Exod.* xxii, 28: *Diis non detrahes*, et principi populi tui non *maledices*; *Matt.* xxvi, 74: Tunc coepit *detestari* et *iurare* quia non novisset hominem; *Marc.* xiv, 71: Ille autem coepit *anathematizare*, et *iurare*.

The italicized words are rendered as follows in the Oxford revision of the King James version (Oxford University Press, 1885): *Lev.* xxiv, 11: blasphemed, cursed; xxiv, 14: him that hath cursed; xxiv, 15-16: curseth, blasphemeth; xxiv, 23: him that had cursed; *Num.* v, 23: curses, water of bitterness that causeth the curse; xxii, 6: curse me this people, he whom thou cursest is cursed (cf. the antonyms, *benedictus* and *maledictus*: he whom thou blessest is blessed); I Chr. xx, 7: defied (or reproached); *Matt.* ix, 3: blasphemeth; xii, 31: blasphemy, blasphemy; xxvi, 65: he hath spoken blasphemy, the blasphemy (cf. *Mark* xiv, 64: the blasphemy); *Acts* xxiii, 4: Revilest thou; *Acts* xxiii, 5: thou shalt not speak evil of. Cf. *Exod.* xxii, 28: revile, curse; *Matt.* xxvi, 74: to curse, to swear; *Mark* xiv, 71: to curse, to swear.

These citations tend to prove clearly that any original distinctions in meaning between these two words have been quite lost in the Latin of the *Vulgate*.

Also it is my impression, based on limited observation, that these parallels in usage hold true in the writings of the more important Latin Fathers.

B. Bibliographical Note

The various ramifications of the political theory of treason are highly complex and cannot be pursued in any detail within the limits of a study of this character. However, it has appeared desirable to me that a short bibliographical note be appended that might indicate certain avenues of approach which have been followed hitherto.

In addition to Mommsen, Humbert, and Kübler *supra*, further information may be derived from J. Weiske, *Hochverrath und Majestätsverbrechen, das crimen maiestatis der Römer* (Leipzig, 1836); E. Pollack, *Der Majestätsgedanke im römischen Recht* (Leipzig, 1908); W. E. Knitschky, *Das Verbrechen der Hochverraths* (Jena, 1874), pp. 4-17 on 'Das altdeutsche Verbrechen der Untreue,' and pp. 17-41 on 'Das römische crimen maiestatis'; P. Bisoukides, *Der Hochverrat* (Berlin, 1903), pp. 6-33 on the Roman Law, and pp. 33-46 on Germanic Law; and also scattering references in Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law*, especially I, 50-52 and II, 500 *et seq.*

The correlations between the various types of treasonable offences have been analyzed in detail in the case of the *Breviary* in *SPECULUM*, IV (1929), 73-87. The various Germanic codes are similarly surveyed, with the view of indicating the relation of *laesa maiestas* to *infidelitas*, by the writer in a thesis deposited in the Widener Library of Harvard University, H. U. 90. 1665 (1925). Also see M. Haidlen, *Der Hochverrat und Landesverrat nach altdeutschen Recht*, Tübingen diss., (Stuttgart, 1896); O. Kellner, *Das Majestätsverbrechen im deutschen Reich bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Halle-Wittenberg diss., (Halle a S., 1911); W. E. Wilda, *Geschichte des deutschen Strafrechts*, I (Das Strafrecht der Germanen) (Halle, 1842), pp. 984-92; and Brunner-von Schwerin, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* (2d ed., Munich and Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1928), II, 881-886.

J. F. H. Abegg has made an historical survey of the development and an analysis of the organic interrelations of these offences in the Roman Law of the classical

period in his previously cited study in *Archiv des Criminalrechts (Neue Folge)*, Jahrgang 1853 (Zweites Stück), pp. 205-38. He refers either to the common elements or to the distinctions between *crimen perduellionis*, *crimen imminutae maiestatis*, *crimen laesae maiestatis*, parricide against *pater patriae*, *crimen laesae pietatis* or *crimen impietatis*, sacrilege and *crimen laesae venerationis*.

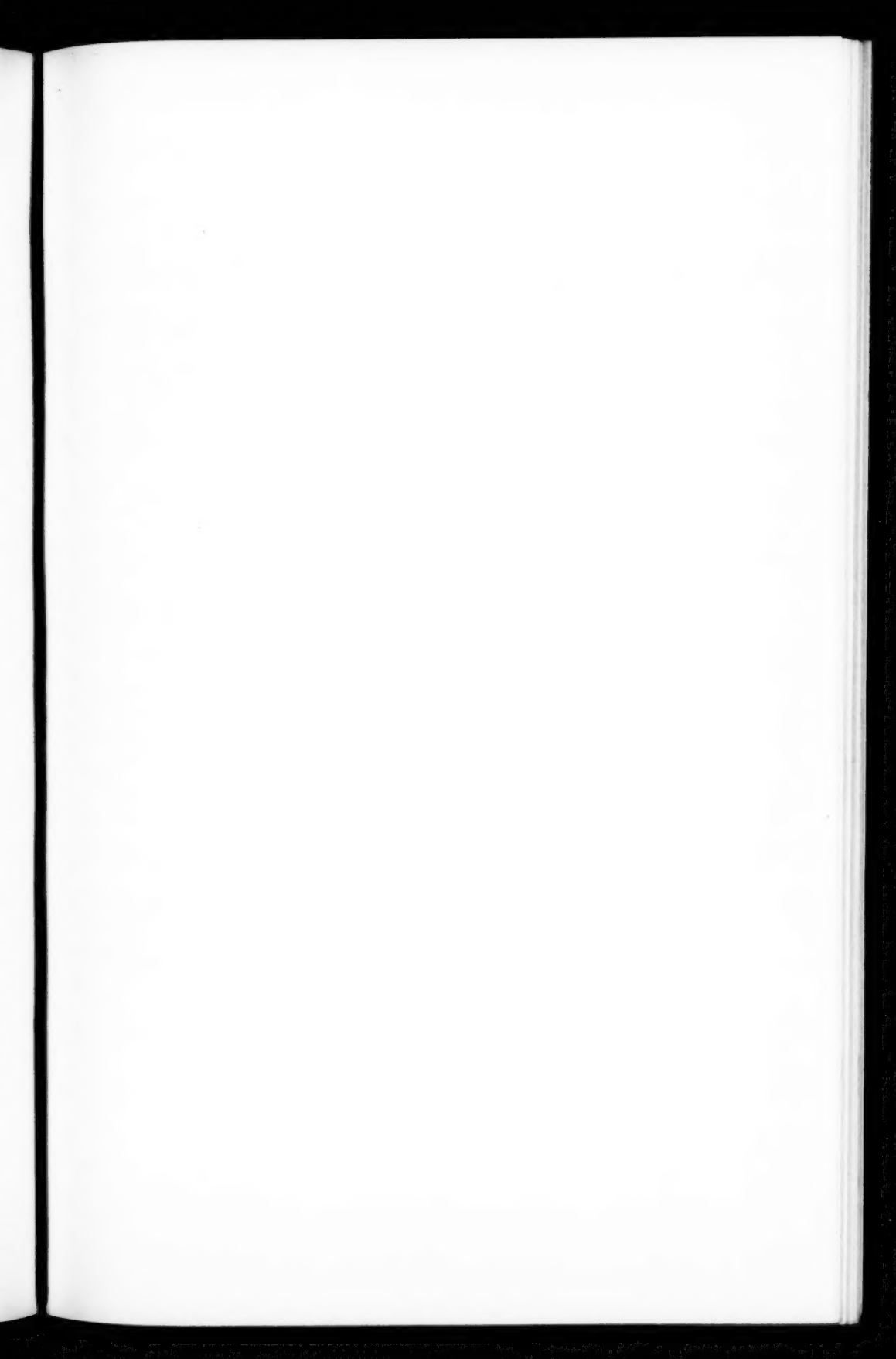
The views of the great commentators on the Roman Law in the 16th and 17th centuries need to be studied in this connection as well. Cf. Iacobus Gothofredus (Jacques Godefroi), *Opuscula varia; iuridica, politica, historica, critica* (Genevae, 1654) who divides the crime of majesty into three categories in the *Discursus historicus*, ad *Legem Quisquis Cod. ad L. Iuliam Maiestatis*, cap. vii. The second division of his classification is described briefly thus: *Secundum Maiestatis crimen voco, laesae Venerationis: 'quotiens videlicet, non hostili quidem in Rempubl. aut Imperium ipsum animo, salus aut securitas eius appetitur, verum debita tantum Principibus veneratio facta dictove aliquo atroci violatur, puta maledictis in eos iactatis, vel status eorum violatis.'* (Owing to an error in pagination in the Geneva edition of 1654, whereby page numbers 31 and 32 are repeated, this reference may be located on the second p. 32.) Also contained in *Iacobi Gothofredi Opera Iuridica minora* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1733) in *Discursus hist.*, ad *Leg. Quisquis*, cap. vii, p. 26. In addition, see *Benedicti Carpzovii I C Practica nova imperialis Saxonica rerum criminalium* (Wittebergae, 1677), (Pars 1), pp. 245-325, who discusses *lèse-majesté*, heresy, blasphemy, sorcery, and witchcraft, and comments on each in its proper order. Cf. P. Bisoukides, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64 on the position of Carpzov. One must conclude that the *crimen laesae venerationis* against the pagan emperors links up indubitably with the Christian conception of a *crimen laesae maiestatis divinae*.

For the treatises of such writers as Bocerus, Bossius, Gentilis, and Gigas, consult M. Lipenius, *Bibliotheca realis iuridica post F. G. Struvii* (Lipsiae, 1746), I, 354-55 under the topic '*Maiestatis Laesae Crimen*'; also the *Supplement* of G. A. Jenichen, II, 268-69, for Balduinus.

C. Blasphemy in Germanic customary law

During the preparation of a review for this journal of the Reverend Father A. K. Ziegler's *Church and State in Visigothic Spain* (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1930) after I had concluded the present study, my attention was redirected to the close relation of the Alamannic and Bavarian Laws with the Code of Euric, a problem that had particularly interested Zeumer (cf. Ziegler, p. 57, n. 2). Since the two former compilations applied to regions adjoining Rhaetia and since Euric's Code had a widely diffused influence, the idea was suggested that the entire closely correlated group of *Leges Barbarorum* be examined with a view to determining whether any possible explanation of the reference to blasphemy in *Lex Rom. Cur.*, 9, 3 might be derived from some source in Germanic customary law.

Lex Wisigothorum, 12, 3, 2: *De blasphematoribus sancti Trinitatis* appears to be the only specific reference to blasphemy in any sense, in Visigothic legislation, and here the context has no bearing on the current problem. Neither is any light added by *L. Vis.*, 2, 1, 9: *De non criminando principe nec maledicendo illi*, nor by *Leges Alamannorum*, c. 36, 2: *De conventu (nec maledicant duce)*. There are no pertinent passages whatsoever in the *Lex Baiuvariorum* that mention either blasphemy or malediction. The only expressions concerning blasphemy that I have found in the Frankish and Lombard legislation are used in entirely unrelated contexts and also conflict with the chronological limits set by H. Brunner, *Rechtsgeschichte*, I, 520 (cf. p. 5, n. 4 *supra*). Note the following instances: *Capitulare duplex in Theodonis villa*



Illia uadens. nuntiavit his quicum eo fuerant
lugentib: et fletib:; Et illiaudientes quia uiue-
ret et uisus: esset ab ea non crediderunt.

2
AD ROMANOS
VIII
1089A

Post haec autem duob: ex eis ambulatib: ofcen-
sus. ē. in alia effigiae. euntib: in uilla. Et illi
euntes nuntiauerunt ceteris. nec illis crediderunt.

2
AD ROMANOS
X

Nouisime recumbentib: illis undecim apparuit
et exprobrauit incredulitate illorū et duritia
cordis. quia his qui uiderunt eum resurrexis-
se non crediderunt. Et dixit eis ius. Euntes
in mundū in uersū. praedicare euangeliū omni
creaturae. qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit.
saluus erit. qui uero non crediderit. condemnabitur.
signa autē eos qui crediderint. haec sequentur.
In nomine meo daemones eicient. linguis loquentur
nouis. serpentes tollent. et si mora ferū quid bibe-
rint. non eis nocebit. Super aegros manus imponent.
et benchedebunt. Et dñs quidem ius postquam locutus
ē. eis assumptus. ē. in caelū. et sedit ad dextris di.
Illia uero profecti praedicauerunt ubiq: dñō co-
operante et sermone confirmante. sequentib: signis;
[XII. EUANGELIUM SECUNDUM MARCUM; V. I. DCC.]

(a. 805), c. 8: 'qui nec iudicium scabinorum adquiescere nec blasphemare volunt'; *Ansegisi Capitularium* (a. 827), 1, 61: *De nimium blasphemis latronibus*; *Hlotharii I Constitutiones Papienses* (a. 832), c. 5, repeating *Cap. in Theod. villa, supra*. Certain features of the *Capitularie Paderbrunnense* or *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* (a. 785) are suggestive, though it makes no specific use of the term, *blasphemia*. Furthermore, in these codes any direct reference to the Roman Law of *laesa maiestas* is most exceptional, as in the *Capitularie Ticinense* (a. 801), c. 3: *De desertoribus*. Therefore, in my judgment no evidence of the Germanic codes invalidates the conclusions reached previously in this study. The references to paganism, which are especially numerous in the Frankish Capitularies, serve to confirm my impression on p. 15 and note 3, *supra*.

Also, among the *leges romanae*, note the interesting passage in *Lex Romana Burgundionum*, 7, 5-6, repeating the 'great exception,' and compare with *L.R.V. C.* 9, 3, 1-2, *L.R.V. P.* 9, 31, 1, and *Digest*, 48, 4, 11. This citation from Ulpian in the *Digest* applies the principle of the 'great exception' so as to involve attainder in accusations of majesty (*maiestatis reus*), made in cases of *perduellio* and high treason. Here the liberal general principle of the Roman Law that *extinguitur enim crimen mortalitate* is abandoned *hoc crimine nisi a successoribus purgetur*.

ANOTHER INSTANCE OF FRANCO-SAXON ORNAMENTATION AT TOURS

In his recent book, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*,¹ E. K. Rand has noted the existence of a period of Franco-Saxon influence on the script of the center he is investigating. This influence extends roughly from the mid-century period (834-860) to the end of the ninth century, but is sporadic rather than continuous in its occurrence. It is characterized particularly by the use of skilful adaptations of Insular ornaments in a manner at once simple, regular, and symmetrical. Of the manuscripts cited by Rand as belonging to the Franco-Saxon period three (Nos. 141, 143A, and 144) are pretty certainly, four (Nos. 139, 140, 142, and 143) are probably, and five (Nos. 145-149) are possibly products of Tours. The determination of the exact provenience of these manuscripts or the discovery of other manuscripts of Tours which show the same style of ornamentation would obviously strengthen the case for the existence of this period.

In 1929, while studying in Europe certain books which Rand² included in his list but which he himself was unable to examine completely,³ I found in one additional evidence of Franco-Saxon influence on Tours. The book (No. 124 in Rand's list) is now in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek at Berlin (*Hamilton 248*), a volume of 236 leaves⁴ (263×206 mm.), each written in

¹ No. 1 of *Studies in the Script of Tours*, The Mediaeval Academy of America (Cambridge, Mass., 1929); pp. 66-68. See also his note, 'Franco-Saxon Ornamentation in a Book of Tours,' *SPECULUM*, IV, 2 (April, 1929), 213-215 (four plates).

² *Op. cit.*

³ I am now preparing a full account of these books for the next volume in Rand's series, *Studies in the Script of Tours*.

⁴ Not 235, for fol. 184 *bis* has been skipped in the numbering.

one column of script (175×107 mm.) of 22 lines. It contains the four *Gospels*, together with the *Prologues of St Jerome*, the *Canon of Eusebius*, and *Capitula Evangeliarum Anni Circuli*. The leaves are ruled separately on the hair-side, as one would expect in a sumptuous Evangelary. The minuscule script is of the variety known as the Regular Style¹ of Tours; were it not for an occasional ligature, one would be tempted to call it the Perfected Style.² A glance at the plate attached to this note (Plates I, fol. 108^v) will be enough to establish its identity.

Further ear-marks of Tours are found in the square capitals (Plate II, fol. 170^v, and Plate III, fol. 17^r), the simple uncials (Plate II and III), the elegant semiuncials (Plate II) and the excellent rustic capitals (Plate I). There is sometimes a hierarchy of different *genres* of script: gold square capitals, gold uncials (or, rarely, rustic capitals), and brown semiuncials (or, rarely, minuscules). Semiuncials are employed not only in a hierarchy, but in whole sections of the text (e.g., in the prologues to the various books and elsewhere). Titles are regularly written in gold uncials; *incipits* in gold square capitals or gold uncials;³ *explicit*s in brown rustic capitals.

The punctuation and abbreviations are exactly what one would expect. A low dot is used for the half-stop, a high dot for the full-stop. This is the well-known 'down-up method,' popular at Tours from the latter part of the abbacy of Fridugisus (died 834) to the end of the ninth century.⁴ The abbreviations, again, are for the most part of the 'Regular' variety.⁵ Except for a number of capricious and technical compendia⁶ I have noted only the following outside of the 'Regular' list: *discipl* (*discipulis*) · *eet* (*esset*)⁷ *ingress* (*ingressus*) *scd* *secd* *scdm* and *secdm* (all four for *secundum*). The appearance of *iHu* (*Iesu*; but cf. *xpi* for *Christi*), of *t̄* (*tur*), and of *t̄* (*tus*)⁸ comport with a date close to the Mid-Century. Two further facts are additional evidence of provenience from Tours: (1) that the figure-2 of the abbreviation for *tur* sweeps upward in a graceful curve at the bottom,⁹ (see Plate I, line 13), and (2) that a horizontal stroke with a dot underneath is

¹ Rand, *op. cit.*, 40-41; 8, 9, 49.

² Rand, *op. cit.*, 60-62.

³ Once, fol. 234^r, in red rustic capitals.

⁴ Rand, *op. cit.*, 30-31.

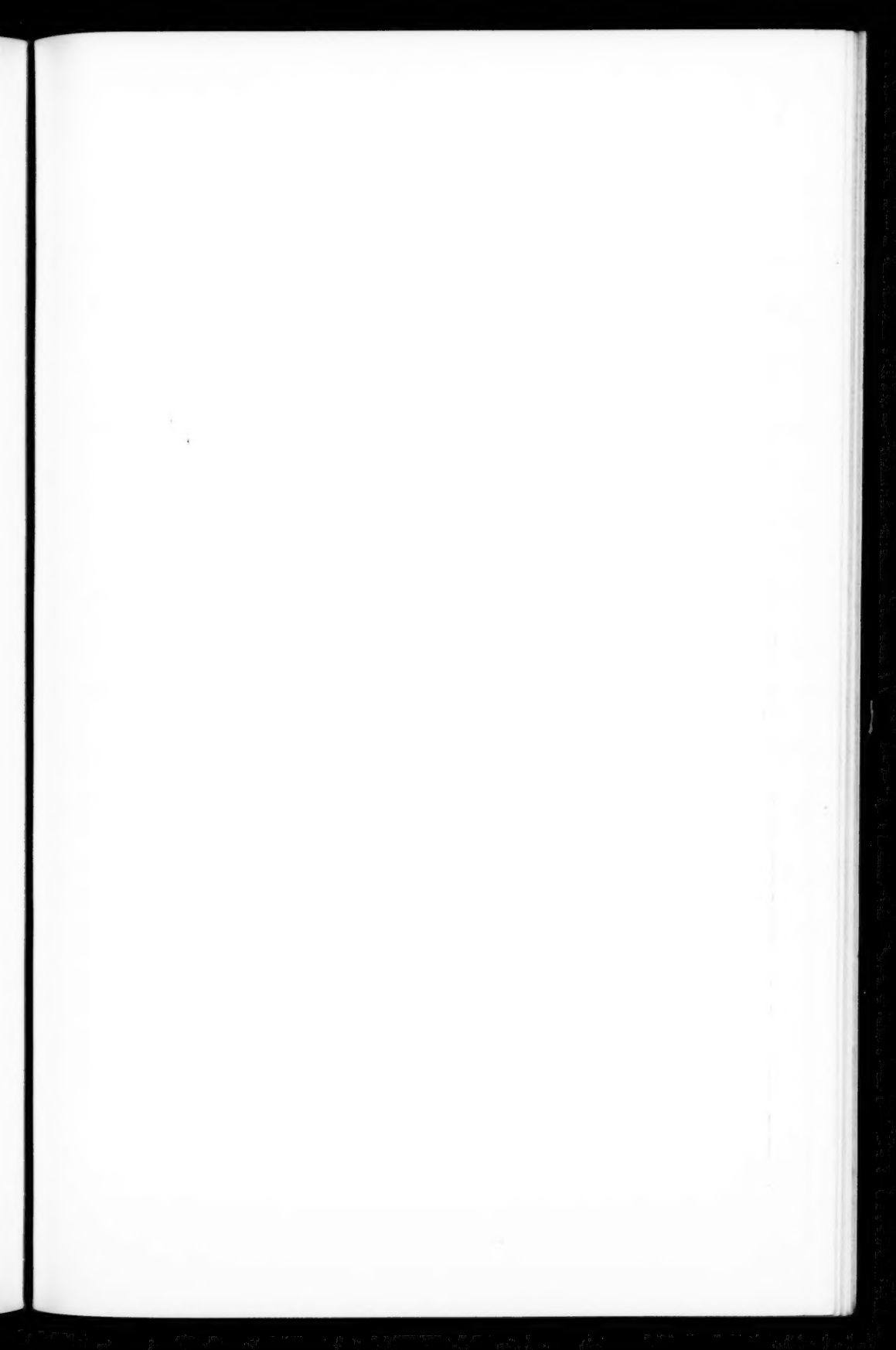
⁵ Rand, *op. cit.*, 27-28.

⁶ E.g., *math matth* (*Matthaeus*) *Mar̄c* (*Marcus*) *Lue* (*Lucas*) *Ioh* (*Iohannes*) *cap̄* (*capitula*) *m̄*, *m̄ens*, etc. (*mensia*, etc.) *ianr* (*Ianuarius*) *iul* (*Iulius*) *Octb* (*October*) *Novb* (*November*) *domc* (*dominica*) *Ebd* (*hebdomada*), etc.

⁷ Really a 'Regular' abbreviation, but inadvertently omitted from Rand's list, *op. cit.*, 27-28.

⁸ The regular use of *t̄* for *tus* is rare at the beginning of the century and commoner at the Mid-Century, Rand, *op. cit.*, 26.

⁹ Rand, *op. cit.*, 61.



INCIPIT ARGV MEN
TVM IN EV̄GELIO
IOHANNIS

HIC EST IOHANNES
EV̄ANGELISTA VNVS
EX DISCIPVLIS D̄I.
QUI VIRGO ELECTVS
AD D̄O Ē QUEM DENVPTIIS
VOLENT Ē NUBERE

uocauit d̄s. Cuius uirginitatis in hoc duplex testa
monium in euangeliis datur. quod et p̄ ceteris
dilectus ad d̄o dicitur. Et huius matrem suam pendens
in cruce commendauit d̄s. ut uirginem uirgo
seruaret. Deniq; manifestans in euangeliis
quod erat ipse incorruptibilis uerbi opus in cho
ans solus uerbum caro factum. eē. Ne clumen
a tenebris comprehensum fuisse testatur. Primū
signū ponens quod in nuptiis fecit d̄s. Ostendens

occasionally used as the abbreviation stroke (usually for *m*) in titles (see Plate II, lines 8 and 9).¹

The illumination belongs to the Mid-Century, the period of highest achievement in both ornamentation and script at Tours. It is decidedly elaborate. Large initials which nearly fill a page are adorned with red, gold, light brown, dark brown, dark blue, slate blue, blue-green, orange, and outlined in red. Smaller initials are of gold outlined in red or of red outlined in gold or simply of gold. Incidental capitals (usually square capitals, occasionally uncials), titles and *incipits* (the latter two have already been noted above) are also of gold. There are, finally, Canon Tables in greenish blue, light blue, red, gray, black, white, and gold — all outlined in red. There can be no doubt that we are dealing with a book of Tours of the Mid-Century period.

Equally certain is the fact that the illumination of our book shows Franco-Saxon influence. Practically all of the large ornamental initials employ simple and conventional plaited patterns. All are regular and symmetrical to a high degree. Two depict animal heads (the *I* on fol. 173^r and the ligature *LI* on fol. 17^r). In one case (the ligature *LI* on fol. 17^r; see Plate III) two animal heads are arranged in complementary fashion at the right and left side of the top of one of the letters of the ligature. This double capital bears close comparison with the *LI* (on fol. 30^v) of a manuscript at Rome, *Vaticanus Lat. 43* (Rand, *op. cit.*, II, Plate CLV. 1), and also with the *B* (on fol. 82^v) of a manuscript at Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 13388* (Rand, 'Franco-Saxon Ornamentation in a Book of Tours,' *SPECULUM*, IV, 2, April, 1929, Plate IV). Both are indubitably Franco-Saxon in style; both were surely written at Tours. Here then we have another instance of the impress of the new northern style on the work of Tours. Other instances will doubtless appear as the investigation of the script goes on.

LESLIE WEBBER JONES,
New Haven, Conn.

¹ For this usage, cf. No. 104, listed but not treated in Rand, *op. cit.*, 150. I shall describe this manuscript fully in the next volume of Rand's series, as I have stated above.

'ALL THE WORLD'S A CHESS-BOARD'¹

BELOW is reproduced the Latin text of a mediaeval comparison of the game of chess to human society from an English manuscript which was not consulted or mentioned by H. J. R. Murray when he printed the passage in his erudite history of chess,² although he used eleven other English manu-

¹ From the *Communiloquium* or *Summa collationum* of Iohannes Vallensis (John of Wales) in Balliol College MS. 274, fol. 55^v, col. 1 — col. 2.

² H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1913. The Latin text is edited at pp. 559-561; the work is discussed at pp. 530-534.

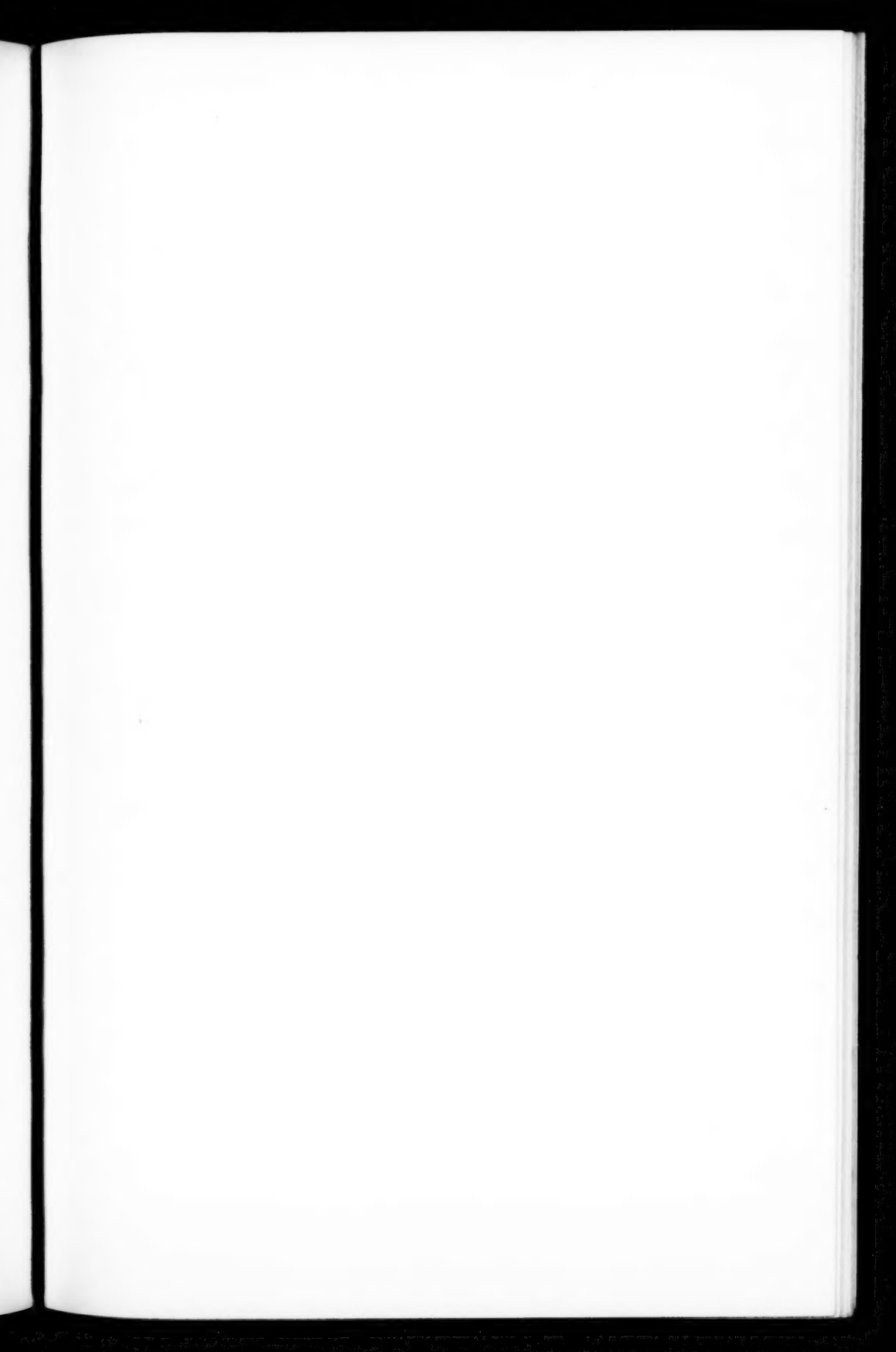
scripts. Ours, however, would seem of equal authority with any of them, although not so old as the early fourteenth century Harleian manuscript of the British Museum which he chiefly followed. Murray rather capriciously dubbed the comparison in question 'The Innocent Morality' because it was sometimes ascribed to Pope Innocent III and in some manuscripts is entitled *Quaedam moralitas de scaccario*. In the Balliol College manuscript it has no separate title, but forms an integral part of the *Communiloquium* or *Summa collationum* of John of Wales (*Gallensis* or *Vallensis*), a Franciscan of the later thirteenth century. I have therefore preferred to identify it by a free translation of its opening words, suggestive of a familiar comparison in Shakespeare. A marginal note in our manuscript, however, describes it as 'A Comparison of the World to the Game of Chess' and states that it is not contained 'in our copy.'¹ The work of John of Wales was frequently printed: in 1472, 1475, 1481, 1493, 1489, 1946, 1511, 1516, 1550, and 1556.² Murray states that the passage on chess is to be found 'in several of the early printed editions,' but it seems lacking in the earlier editions of the fifteenth century at the Bodleian library. It occurs in the Paris edition of 1516, where, except for minor variations, the passage much resembles the text of our manuscript, more so than that printed by Murray.

Balliol College MS. 274, or rather the first portion of it which interests us here, may be described a little more fully and precisely than in Coxe's catalogue of manuscripts in Oxford college libraries.³ At fols. 1^r-4^v is a table of contents. Then, at fol. 4^v, col. 2, occurs the rubric: 'Expliciunt Capitula in comuniloquim. Incipit Prologus in Communiloquium a fratre Iohanne Vallensi ordinis minorum editum.' This is followed by the Incipit of the prologue, 'Cum doctor sive predicator evangelicus sapientibus et insipientibus debitor sit salvatore demandante. . . .' At fol. 130^r, col. 1, the work ends, '. . . salvatoris gratia illuminante studeat advenire, et sic est finis huius collationis. Explicit summa collationum sive comuniloquium Iohannis Vallensis ordinis fratrum Minorum, Scriptum per me Paulum de Mertzzenich etc. Anno domini M^{mo} CCCC^{mo} nono in crastino sancti Thome Apostoli. Deo gratias.' After this the rest of the column is blank. At fols. 130^r, col. 2-145^r, col. 2, occurs another treatise by the same author: 'Incipiunt Rubrice in Breviloquium de virtutibus antiquorum principum et philosophorum eiusdem Iohannis Vallensis.' Fol. 130^r, col. 1,

¹ 'Comparatio mundi ad ludum schakarum et hoc deficit in libro nostro.'

² For details concerning these editions consult *Histoire littéraire de la France*, xxv (1869), 180-181, in the article, 'Jean de Galles, théologien.'

³ Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum MSS qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*, Oxford, 1852, i, 90.



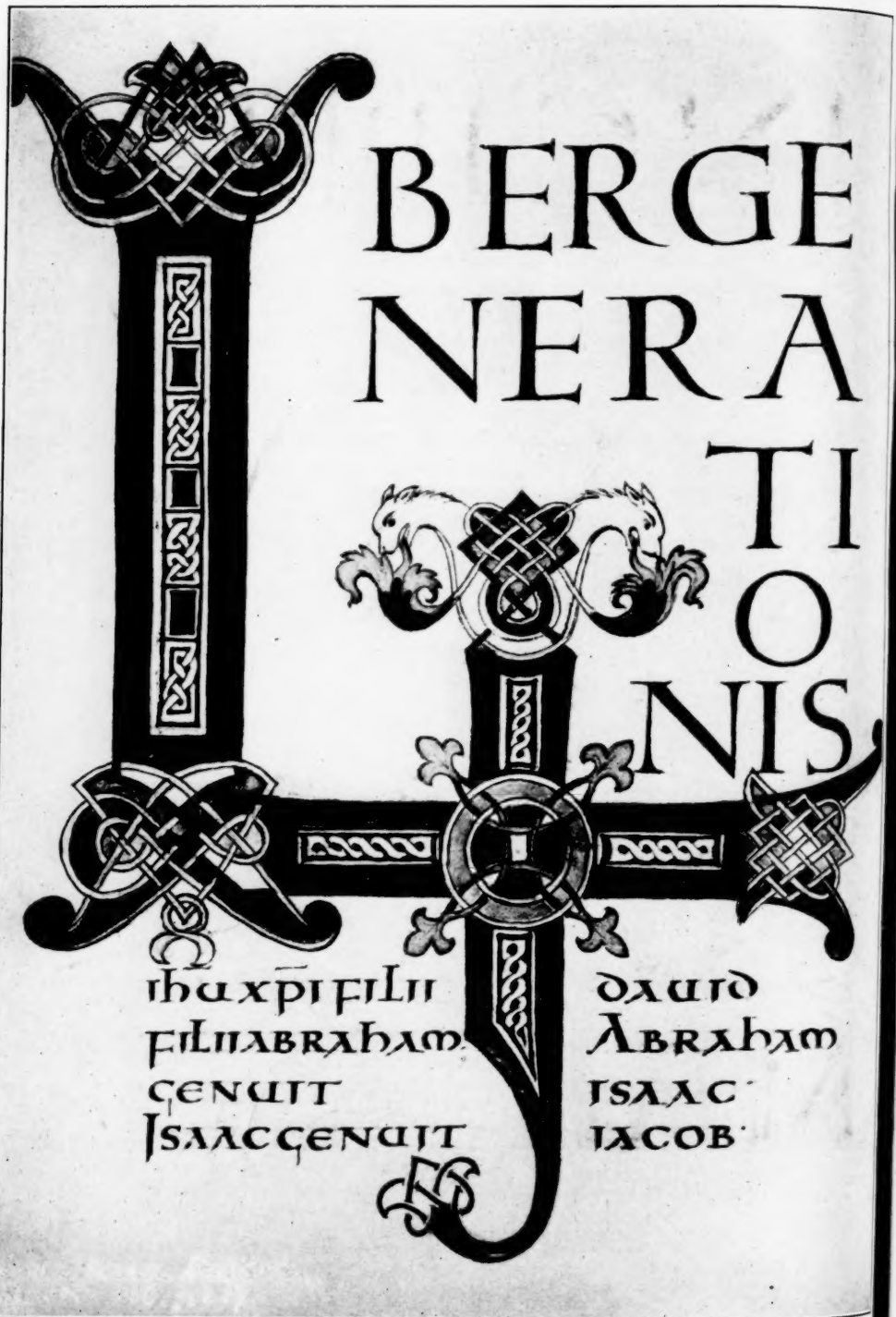


PLATE III

Berlin. Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 248.

Fol. 17r.

'Quoniam misericordia et veritas custodiunt regem. . . .' This second work is a collection of *Exempla* and closes, '. . . ubi vis permanere ego vita. Amen. Explicit Breuiloquium Iohannis Vallensis etc.'

The passage about chess occurs in the tenth distinction of the first part which deals with the laboring class. The seventh chapter of this distinction is concerned with theatrical entertainments¹ and is not unfavorable thereto, holding that workers need recreation, though it condemns dice and gambling and asserts that the clergy should shun vain games. It is in this context that the game of chess is described, and I cannot understand why Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 532, after correctly giving the reference for the passage in the *Communiloquium*, Pars I, dist. x, cap. 7, should then say that it occurs in a chapter which is devoted to the virtues of bishops, and the taxes and dues from which they are exempt by reason of their position, and so is out of place in the work of John of Wales and probably not by him. It is, however, a little uncertain whether this 'Comparison of the World to the Game of Chess' is by John of Wales or interpolated later, the date of writing our manuscript being 1409, and the passage, as we have seen, not always occurring in manuscripts and editions of his work. I also do not know whether the comparison is original or taken from some earlier writer. It does not seem to come from the work of Jacobus de Cessolis; at least there is nothing like it in Caxton's paraphrase of that book. Murray's argument against attributing it to Innocent III that it criticizes the morals of bishops seems unconvincing, and possibly it may have been taken over from a sermon by Innocent into the *Communiloquium* of John of Wales.

COMPARATIO MUNDI AD LUDUM SCHAKARUM

Mundus iste totus quoddam schacharium est, cuius unus punctus albus est et alter niger propter duplicem statum vite et mortis, gratie et culpe. Familia huius schacharii sunt homines huius mundi qui omnes de uno sacculo materno extrahuntur et collocantur in diversis locis huius mundi et singuli habent diversa nomina. Unus dicitur rex, alter regina, tertius rochus, quartus miles, quintus alfinus, sextus pedinus. Unde versus Rex Rochus Alfinus Miles Regina pedinus.

Istius autem ludi conditio talis est ut unus alium capiat et cum ludum compleverint, sicut de uno loco et sacculo exierunt, sic in unum locum reponuntur, nec est differentia inter regem et peditem pauperem quia simul in unum dives et pauper et sapientie vii unde dicitur unus introitus ad vitam et similis exitus.² Et sepe contingit quod quando schacharii repo-

¹ 'Prima Pars. Distinctio decimus de informatione populi laborantis. Cap. 7, De informatione ludentium in theatro.' This runs from fol. 54^r, col. 2, to fol. 56^r, col. 2. A colored initial marks the opening of the passage on chess.

² The biblical quotation is omitted in Murray's text.

nuntur in sacculum rex inferius collocatus est. Sic quando transeunt a vita huius mundi maiores, sepe in inferno sepeliuntur, et pauperes in sinum Abrahe deportantur exemplo Divitis et Lazari.¹

In isto siquidem ludo rex vadit circumquaque directe et capit undique semper directe in signum quod rex omnia iuste capiat et in nullo omissa iustitia omnibus exhibenda obliquare debet, sed modo quidquid agit iustitia reputatur quia quidquid principi placet iuris² habet vigorem.

Regina sive domina que dicitur fertze capit et vadit oblique,³ quia cum avarissimum sit genus mulieris, quidquid capit nisi mere detur ex gratia rapina est et iniustitia.

Rochus est iusticiarius perambulans totam terram directa tamen linea ita quod nichil capiat oblique muneribus corruptus sed omnia iuste corrigat nulli parcens. Sed eontra de illis iam verificatur illud Amos iii^o, Convertisti in amaritudinem iudicium (col. 2) et fructum iustitie in absinthium.

Miles vero in capiendo duo puncta vadit directa et tertium obliquat in signum quod milites et domini terreni poterunt iuste capere redditus debitos et iustas emendas a delinquentibus secundum exigentiam delicti, sed tertium punctum obliquant cum tallias et iniustas quascumque exactiones a subditis extorquent.

Alfni vero sunt cornuti exemplo⁴ episcopi, non ut Moyses ex colloquio divino sed potius regio imperio vel prece vel pretio sublimati.⁵ Isti Alfni oblique currunt et capiunt tria puncta pertranseundo,⁶ quia fere omnes prelatos perverterunt odium amor et munerum favor,⁷ ne delinquentes reprehendant,⁸ ne contra vitia latent, sed potius promannuo censu peccata ad infernum trahunt seu tradunt ut sic diabolum ditent, unde qui debuerant vitiorum extirpatores esse iam per cupiditatem facti sunt vitiorum promotores et dyaboli procuratores.

Pedinus vero pauperculus est qui incedendo semper vadit directe in sua simplicitate, sed si capere vult oportet ut oblique faciat. Sic semper quando in sua consistit paupertate, directe vivit, sed cum querit aliquid temporale

¹ This sentence is worded quite differently in Murray's text: 'sic fere quique maiores in transitu huius seculi inferius collocantur, scilicet in inferno, sepeliuntur, pauperes in sinum Habrahe deportantur.'

² *Legis* in Murray's text.

³ This reading seems more direct and natural than Murray's 'vadit oblique, et capit undique indirecte.'

⁴ This word is not included by Murray.

⁵ Murray's text here adds, 'et sic promoti.'

⁶ Instead of 'et capiunt tria puncta pertranseundo,' Murray's text reads, 'et tres punctos currendo pertranseunt indirecte.'

⁷ The whole construction of the clause is thrown into the passive in Murray's text, with *omnes prelati* in the nominative as subject.

⁸ *Corrigunt et* in Murray's text.

vel honoris consequi, statim mendaciis periuriis adulationibus et favoribus obliquat quousque ad gradum superiorem schakarii perveniat, et tunc duo puncta transit tertium obliquando. Sic pauper cum elevatur statim perverse incedit, quia asperius nichil est humili cum surgit in altum.¹

In isto schachario dicit dyabolus, Eschec, insultando aliquando percutiendo peccati iaculo. Qui sic percussus, nisi citius dicat, Liveret, ad penitentiam recurrendo, dicet ei diabolus, Mact, animam secum ad tartaram deducendo a quo nec liberabitur prece vel pretio, quia in inferno nulla est redemptio. . . .²

LYNN THORNDIKE,
Columbia University

¹ The whole paragraph is worded differently in Murray's text.

² In the foregoing notes I have not attempted to indicate all the variations between *Balliol 274* and Murray's text, but only to give some salient examples. In general *Balliol 274* tends to agree with Murray's variant readings rather than with the text of *Harleian MS. 2253*, which he primarily follows.

TWO NOTES ON WYCLIF

I. Two hitherto unknown Italian Manuscripts

DURING a recent visit to Rome Monsignor A. Pelzer of the Vatican Library kindly drew my attention to two manuscripts which have long been attributed to anonymous authors but which are in fact manuscripts of Wyclif.

Bibl. Vat. Lat. 4313. Saec. XV. Membr. 385 mm. × 252 mm. fol. 70.

1. Contents. (a) *De Universalibus*. fol. 1-31 b. (J. Loserth, *Shirley's Catalogue of the Extant Latin Works of John Wyclif*, p. 2, No. 9, I, 5.)

(b) *De Eucharistia*, fol. 31 b-70 d (edited by Loserth for the Wyclif Society, 1892).

2. Provenance. The handwriting is current Gothic of the fifteenth century and probably early in that century. Folio 31 (the initial of the tractate *De Eucharistia*) is exactly similar in design and colors to the illuminations of the well-known Jentzenstein codex (*Vat. Lat. 1122*) and of *Vat. Ross. 289* which though belonging to a little earlier time, shows the same characteristics. The writing of *Vat. Lat. 4313* is different though from the Jentzenstein codex. Many marginalia were written by the scribe ('nota bene, attende, contra Scotum, quod prelati debent esse instructi in fide eucharistie,' etc.). Inter alia there is on fol. 47' the note '*contra Bonaventure*.' It may be that *Bonaventure* is a genitive and *sententiam* has been omitted but nowhere else does the scribe put his note in this form. It would therefore seem more probable that he has used the English form *Bonaventure* instead of the Latin *Bonaventuram*, and that therefore the scribe has

copied from an English original. The beautiful execution of the codex, both in handwriting and illumination, suggests that it may have been written to be laid before the Council of Constance.

3. Text. Generally speaking the text agrees with that of the MS. used by Loserth. In one place certainly it is more intelligible. Loserth prints in chapter VI (*ed. cit.*, p. 91. l. 21):

'hec valet dicere quod quintus ordo est necessarius post publicacionem usus ecclesie Romane et non ante, quia sic liceret pape contra evangelium dispensare, eius errores corrigere et per consequens novum evangelium de toto condere; quod suppono hic a iuribus fidelium esse horribile.'

The same sentence occurs in the Vatican MS. but with the following more intelligible conclusion ' . . . quod suppono auribus fidelium.'

Pavia Univ. 311 (139 G. 46). *Tractatus Metaphysici*. Saec. XIV *ex*.
Membr. 213 mm. X 315 mm. Fol. I. 130 I.

1. Contents. The folios are not in correct order, a fact already noted by L. de Marchi and G. Bertolani, *Inventario della R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Pavia* (Milan, 1894), I, 170). With considerable difficulty, accentuated by an inaccurate pencilled pagination of the codex, the following points have been established.

(a) Fol. 12 is not numbered (in pencil) in the codex, consequently Nos. 12-73 are inaccurate. After fol. 73 follows No. 75 and after fol. 91 there is no numeration.

(b) Following a correct numeration the following works of Wyclif are contained in this codex

De Universalibus (Loserth, *Catalogue*, p. 2, No. 9. I. 5), fol. 1-35c.

De Materia & Forma (ed. by H. Dziewicki, *Miscellanea philosophica*, for the Wyclif Society, 1902, vol. I), fol. 35d-37d, 98a-107d, 48a-b.

De Ydeis (Loserth, *Catalogue*, p. 3 No. 9. II. 5), fol. 42b-47d, 72a-76b.

De Tempore (Loserth, *Catalogue*, p. 3, No. 9. I. 6), fol. 48b-49d, 51a-d, 50a-d, 52a-57d, 59a-d, 58a-d, 60a-61d, 38a-42a.

De Compositione Hominis (ed. R. Beer for Wyclif Society, 1884), fol. 76b-88d, 90a-d, 89a-d, 92a-d, 91a-b.

De Benedicta Incarnatione (ed. E. Harris for Wyclif Society, 1886), fol. 91c-d, 93a-97d, 62a-71d, 108a-130b.

2. Provenance. The writing is current Gothic of the early fifteenth century. There is nothing to indicate its country of origin, but on the flyleaf there is written in an elegant sixteenth century hand the name of Don Hieronymus de Bulgarinis Sacrista Valentia to whom the codex apparently has belonged.

3. Text. There are numerous marginalia by two different writers, one of whom uses red, the other black ink. Both belong to the end of the 15th

or the beginning of the 16th century. The notes in black are rarer and draw attention merely to the context of the text. Only on one occasion does the writer express an opinion ('nota, non videtur Wicleff,' fol. 123), where the question of transsubstantiation is discussed. On the other hand the scribe who used red ink, though often indicating the contents of the text, often also expresses his opinion of the author's doctrine, and is clearly an orthodox and well informed Catholic. Thus we have: fol. 1 'Iste hereticus tenet quod esse creatum est sua essencia'; fol. 3, 'pulchra sententia de laude incarnationis'; fol. 6 'conclusio fantastica istius'; fol. 7 'opinio Wiclef quod omne universale est singulare licet non formaliter'; fol. 13 'ridiculus es cumputas istas rationes cogere contra sencientes'; fol. 16^v 'de similitudine quam ponit iste hereticus in numero creato et increato'; fol. 17 'nota istamc ontradicionem.'

It is perhaps also worthy of note that five of these tractates are to be found in nearly the same order in two other codices, namely MSS 773 and 1555 of Prague University Library, in which only the *De Benedicta Incarnatione* is lacking.

II. On the *De Potestate Pape*

In 1907 Professor Loserth published the tractate *De Potestate Pape* for the Wyclif Society. In his introduction he states:

(a) that manuscripts of the work are to be found only in Bohemian Libraries;

(b) that in Bohemia there are three manuscripts, 1) *Cap. Metrop. Pragens. C. 73*, 2) *Univ. Pragens. 3. F. 11*, both of which contain the complete tractate, and 3) *Univ. Pragens. 3. G. 16*, which contains a fragment.

In the *Revised Catalogue of Wyclif's Extant Latin Works* which Loserth published six years ago he added a fourth MS. to this list, namely *Univ. Pragens. 2. E. 3*, which contains on fol. 58r a quite short extract from the last chapter of the tractate, corresponding to Loserth's printed text p. 396, l. 16—p. 397, l. 16.

Both of these statements (even as amended by the *Revised Catalogue*) must be corrected. As regards *b*, Professor Loserth had overlooked a MS. in Prague, *Metrop. Cap. Pragens. 0.29*, which gives on fol. 166–177v excerpts from various chapters of the *De Potestate Pape*. The MS. is described in the catalogue of manuscripts of the Chapter-Library in Prague, compiled by A. Podlaha and published in Prague.

With regard to *a*, *Codex A 53* of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, contains on fol. 176–179 an extract from this same tractate. This codex is a miscellany of treatises on theology and philosophy, together with a few letters. At the end of three of the tractates the scribe has put his name

After a *Comment. in Ovidii methamorphoses* (fol. 75-160), and Robert Lincoln, *De oculo morali* (fol. 301-361), one reads the following subscription 'scriptus a fratre Adam de Stocton lectore in conuentu Cantabrigie anno domini M CCC septuagesimo septimo,' and at the end of the *Breviloquium Philosophorum* (fol. 392-415): 'Explicit Breviloquium Philosophorum de virtutibus antiquorum quod uenerabilis pater & magister Joh. Walensis compilauit ad honorem dei & utilitatem ecclesie sancte ad instanciam domini episcopi Magolensis. Amen. quod Stocton scripsit Cantebrige anno domini MCCCLXXV'.

This Adam de Stocton, however, was not the scribe of the fragment *De Potestate Pape* which is in a different hand though of the same period. The fragment is a single excerpt and corresponds to Loserth, p. 118, l. 6—p. 126, l. 20. At the end the scribe has written 'Hec uenerabilis doctor magister Johannes Wiclif in quadam sua determinacione anno domini 1379,' while another hand has added: '*execrabilis seductor.*' The date given confirms the conclusion of Loserth in his introduction to the printed edition and, if we may date the fragment by the Adam de Stocton MSS, we have here one of the earliest known manuscripts of Wyclif's writings.

Further, the scribe of the Wyclif fragment is the writer of two letters which immediately follow (fol. 179-186). They are addressed by William Fleete of the order of Augustinian Hermits to his brethren in England and are full of ideas for reform. The second has the following subscription by the scribe: 'Dirigat vos altissimus in reformatione ordinis ac istis obseruandis sitis feruidus et assiduus. Per fratrem Willelmum de Anglia peccatorem misse fuerunt iste litere ad Angliam a fratre Willelmo Fleeth anno domini MCCCLXXX'. It would, of course, be a mere guess to suppose that 'frater Willelmus de Anglia' was the scribe of these letters and therefore of the Wyclif fragment. But it is certain that the scribe had some connection with the Augustinian order and was somewhat in agreement with Wyclif's impassioned polemic against the Pope and clergy. Otherwise he could not have described its author as '*venerabilis doctor*'. Equally certain it is that the manuscript passed later into the hands of an orthodox scribe who added '*execrabilis doctor*'!

I. H. STEIN,
Berlin

BISHOP GUNDULPH OF ROCHESTER AND THE VULGATE

IN THE life of Lanfranc of Canterbury by Milo Crispin, mention is made of his labors of correction of the text of the Vulgate and of patristic and liturgical texts. It is affirmed also, that he did this work 'non tantum per se, sed etiam per discipulos suos.' Among these disciples and continuators, Bishop

Gundulph of Rochester is mentioned as one of the most prominent and successful in eliminating corrupt readings from Scriptural texts. (F. Kaulen, *Geschichte d. Vulgata*, Mainz: 1868, p. 235). The source of this information is the *Histoire littéraire de la France* (Tom. VIII [Paris, 1746], 117-118) in which it is said:

'Gondulph, étant devenu successivement Abbé de S. Alban, puis Evêque de Rochester, continua de s'occuper au même travail. Les corrections qu'il fit aux livres de l'ancien et de nouveau testament, corrompus par l'inadvertance des Copistes, eurent de si heureuses suites, que l'Eglise d'Angleterre et celle de France en tirèrent beaucoup de fruit. La travail des moines de Cîteaux . . . etc.'

The authority cited for this statement is the *Chronica Maiora* commonly ascribed to Matthew Paris. The passage of the *Chronica* referred to, reads as follows:

'Eodem anno obiit Lanfrancus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus ix kal. Aprilis. Qui inter caetera quae fecit pietatis opera, maiorem ecclesiam Christi Cantuariensem renovavit . . . Ecclesiam Rofensem restauravit, et in ea monachum Becci, Hernostum, episcopum ordinavit. In cuius consecratione versus iste inventus est super altare: "Cito proferte stolam primam," etc. Quod cum vidisset archiepiscopus, praedixit eum cito moriturum. Nam ei in episcopatu anno nondum completo decedenti successit Gundulfus Beccensis monachus, qui perseveravit usque in tempora Henrici regis. Abbatiam beati Albani, Anglorum prothomartyris, ad statum reduxit. Angliam rege absente custodivit; lectioni assidue vacavit; libros Veteris ac Novi Testamenti scriptorum vitio corruptos, corrigere studuit, cuius emendationis luce tam Anglorum ecclesia quam Gallorum se gaudet illustrari. Defuncto itaque venerabili patre Lanfranco, rex Willelmus . . .'

At first sight it would seem that all these activities from the words 'Abbatiam Sancti Albani' to 'illustrari' refer to Gundulph, who is the subject of the preceding sentence. But a more careful analysis of the text shows that such is not the case. The whole passage directly concerns Lanfranc, whose obituary is given in these lines. Gundulph is mentioned only incidentally as the successor of Hernost of Rochester whose death Lanfranc foretold. It seems to me, that the subject of all these verbs: *reduxit, custodivit, vacavit, studuit*, is not Gundulph but Lanfranc; as a matter of fact, after all these clauses the narrative continues, telling what happened after Lanfranc's death: 'Defuncto itaque Lanfranco.' Furthermore, the series of statements made in those lines could be true only of Lanfranc. The close connection of Lanfranc with the Abbey of St Albans through his intimate friend Abbot Paul (of Caen) is well known. Of Lanfranc it could be said that he 'Abbatiam beati Albani . . . ad statum reduxit;' but we know of no such close relationship of Gundulph and St Albans. The next statement; 'Angliam rege absente custodivit' could likewise be applied to Lanfranc on several occasions after his victory over the Archbishop of York at Windsor, 1072, but

certainly at no time could it have been true of Gundulph. And finally, we know of Lanfranc's labors for a correct text of the Bible from other sources, while there is no mention anywhere in any extant sources of Gundulph as interested in that sort of work. The *Vita Gundulphi*, by a contemporary monk of Rochester, contains no reference to textual labor of any sort. The large two-volume Bible, formerly in the Sir Thomas Phillips collection, now Huntington Library MS. 62, which has been attributed to him, and, according to the thirteenth century title on the first leaf of each volume, 'Prima (secunda) pars Biblie per bone memorie Gundulfum Roffensem Episcopum,' may well have been in his possession, but we have no evidence for supposing that he was at all responsible for its revision.

S. HARRISON THOMPSON,
California Institute of Technology

REVIEWS

CHARLES HENRY BEESON, *Lupus of Ferrières as Scribe and Text Critic*. The Mediaeval Academy of America. Publication No. 4. Cambridge, Mass. 1930. Cloth. Pp. x+51; 109 folia in facsimile. \$12.00.

LUPUS SERVATUS, Abbot of Ferrières, has long been justly celebrated as the foremost humanist of the early Middle Ages. A passion for antiquity and a free searching for truth — *sapientiam propter se ipsam appetendam esse*, he declared — were not less conspicuously displayed by him than by the lovers of the ancients in the later Renaissance. His tireless quest of manuscripts of the classics has long been known to readers of his letters, and ever since Traube, as long ago as 1891, led the way, as he led the way in so many epoch making researches in the history of mediaeval culture, scholars have been increasingly aware of the painstaking, not to say philological, scrutiny that Lupus bestowed upon the texts that he could borrow or acquire. Traube had divined that the revision of *Codex Bernensis 366* is by the very hand of Lupus — a brilliant intuition confirmed by the studies of Traube's pupil Schnetz in 1900, who found that one whole column is Lupus's script. Lindsay wrote an important article on this manuscript in 1909.¹ The clue was thus provided for further investigation of the manuscripts of the ninth century with the prospect that still further evidence of Lupus's editorial activities might come to light.

This clue has been most successfully followed by Beeson. Beginning in 1910, he took advantage of various hints that appeared — as they generally appear to one who knows what he wants to find and where to find it — so that now he can point to no less than five manuscripts that contain the corrections or collations of Lupus and one that is entirely written by that scholar himself. The five are: Paris, *B. N. lat. 7774 A*, Cicero's *De Inventione*; *B. N. lat. 7526*, Livy; *B. N. lat. 8623*, Symmachus, *Letters*; Rome, *Vat. Reg. lat. 597*, Aulus Gellius (identified for Beeson by Lowe); *Vat. Reg. lat. 1484*, Tiberius Claudius Donatus, *Commentary on Virgil* (discovered by Lindsay). The autograph manuscript, London, *B. M., Harley, 2736*, Cicero, *De Oratore*, is reproduced in the present volume with a full description and an account of Lupus as a scribe and a textual critic.

Beeson's description of the Harley Codex is, as one would expect, clear and complete. One matter might have been more plainly set forth — the extraordinary confusion in the gathering containing folio 17-24 (p. 8). I have tried without success to picture the exact condition of affairs at that point — a diagram would have greatly helped. And one detail I miss — a statement as to the number of leaves ruled at a time. I explained the differ-

¹ *Classical Philology* iv, 113-117.

ence between what I called Old Style and New Style ruling in an article for Lindsay's *Palaeographia Latina*, v (1927), 52-78, and more clearly, I hope, in *A Survey of the Script of Tours* (The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1929), pp. 11-18. I should be grateful if palaeographers would take the hint I dropped and report on the methods followed in other scriptoria than Tours. What was Lupus's practice? It would be interesting to know. He was acquainted with various books of Tours. Did he note the New Style in any of them and adopt it? Or did he abide by the habit in vogue at the beginning of the ninth century?

Lupus's handwriting, as Beeson points out, has been somewhat influenced by the script of Tours. I should not call it 'beautiful' (p. 9). It is clear and competent, and he has mastered the Tours *g*, but instead of declaring it 'several decades in advance of the current style,' I should rate it more than one decade behind the 'Regular Script' of St Martin's, the principles of which, I have endeavored to show, were set forth in the time of Alcuin. That Lupus was familiar with books in this style would appear from his avoidance of the ligature for *st*, except when he is pressed for space (p. 10). As I have suggested before,¹ the famous *Memmianus* of Suetonius may have been one of the books known to Lupus. Perhaps in the present copy he might have written more elegantly with a finer pen and more time at his disposal, but his workmanship here is distinctly inferior to that in the *Memmianus*, to say nothing of the unapproachable beauty of mid-century books of Tours, like the First Bible of Charles the Bald or the *Gospels* of Lothair.

One or two scribal habits of Lupus are not without interest. In treating of the script of Tours, I called attention to the use of the *K*-form of *H* and suggested that the history of this usage needs investigation.² It is an ancient form, being found for example in the rustic capital script of the *Bembinus* of Terence; Umpfenbach, in the *apparatus criticus* of this edition, indicates it religiously, and gratuitously, by a *K*. In manuscripts of the ninth century, the presence of the *K*-form in the title of a work may sometimes indicate that the manuscript was copied directly from an ancient book in rustic capitals or one in uncials with rustic capital titles.³ In other cases, however, as in some of the Tours manuscripts of the time of Fridugisus, the *K*-form is a mere mannerism of the period when the book was written. Now it appears that Lupus was addicted to this practice (p. 10). His script, then, is an important moment in this little history.

Another of Lupus's habits was a rigid adherence to the rules of the Roman grammarians for the division of syllables, whereby any pronounceable group

¹ *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xxxvii (1926), 38 f.

² *Survey*, p. 53, N. 5.

³ So, perhaps, the Holkham Cicero, See *Survey*, p. 104.

of consonants is placed with the following vowel. Lupus not only followed this rule in his own practice, but made the texts that he collated conform to it. This may seem a minor matter, but the information on this point given by Seeck in his edition of Symmachus led Beeson to the discovery that the Paris manuscript of the *Letters* was one of Lupus's books.

In his punctuation, Lupus follows what I called the 'downup' method¹ whereby a dot towards the bottom of the letter indicates a half-pause and one towards the top a full-pause (p. 15). Possibly Lupus imitated this system from books of Tours that he knew — it first appears in the latter half of the régime of Fridugisus — or possibly he derived this practice, like his system of word-division, from the Roman grammarians.

Lupus's symbols of abbreviations are not confined to those that I designated as 'Regular' in the manuscripts of Tours.² The frequent presence of $\bar{a}u = autem$, $H = enim$ and $\bar{t}m = tamen$, and the avoidance of $\bar{q}m = quoniam$ are enough to attest that fact (pp. 17–21). Either he was not aware of the system in vogue at St Martin's or he did not care to follow it.

Most interesting is the light that Beeson sheds on Lupus's methods as an emender of texts (pp. 34–49). In the case of the *De Oratore*, it is evident that he did not have another manuscript available from which to collect variants. In some cases, he has obviously improved the text; in others, he has ventured an obviously erroneous change. In both cases, he has not infrequently substituted his own reading for that of the text, which is relegated to the margin. If some later scribe copied the present text of *De Oratore*, he might well have paid no attention to the marginal variants, and thus have presented the world with a text that with its deviations, both good and bad, from Lupus's archetype, would sadly puzzle a modern constructor of stemmata. Luckily there were not many mediaeval copyists or revisers possessed of Lupus's acumen. At the same time, the example of his practice should serve as a warning for students of textual criticism. We must watch out for more instances of mixed manuscripts — mixtures not only of different branches of the text but also of a genuine tradition with the private emendations of some scholar.

It is almost unnecessary to emphasize the importance of Beeson's labors with Lupus Servatus for the dating of certain manuscripts and for the history of the development of script in various of the centres of France. I would call attention to two instances of some moment in the history of the script of Tours. The Paris *Livy* (*B.N. 7526*) known to editors of the historian as the *Thuaneus*, was formerly considered a book of the tenth century. I recognized it as a book of Tours contemporary with the Vatican

²*Survey*, p. 31.

¹*Survey*, pp. 25–28.

Livy, and thus, if my ideas on the matter are correct, written not long before the arrival of Alcuin, or at any rate, not long before the 'Regular Style' which I would associate with him was established at Tours. I noted also, with the help of Lindsay's article, that the supplementary and correcting hand was that of Lupus. On applying to Beeson, I found, not unnaturally, that he had anticipated me in this discovery. The presence of the hand of Lupus in the book of course disposes of the attribution of its script to the eleventh century and establishes its date as at least as early as the first half of the ninth century.

Another book of Tours is the manuscript of Cicero's *De Inventione*, Paris, B. N. 7774 A.¹ This work is preceded by a copy of part of the *Verrines*, which is really a different manuscript; it is the leading codex for the part of the *Verrines* that it contains. I assigned it to the régime of Fridugisus, that is to a time not later than 834. Part II, containing the *De Inventione (Rhetorica)*, I thought might be somewhat later, though still within the same period. I recognized the presence of a correcting hand, but failed to identify it with that of Lupus. Now that Beeson has made this identification, my approximate dating has been corroborated. Moreover, we may now venture a more exact estimate. In a letter sent to Einhard from Fulda between 829 and 835 (Beeson, p. 3), Lupus speaks of a *Tullii de rhetorica liber* which he possesses, but which, owing to its faulty text, he wishes to collate with one that he believes Einhard owns. The Paris book, written at Tours and corrected by Lupus, is apparently the one that he took with him when he went to Fulda about 828. He collated it then, he tells us, with a copy that he found even more defective. The variants in the book of Tours were taken, therefore, from one at Fulda. Whether Lupus got Einhard's copy we do not know, and whether he restored his own copy to Tours we also do not know. It seems more likely that the manuscript made its way from Ferrières — after what sort of itinerary is uncertain — to Paris. At all events, Part II of B. N. 7774 A was written at Tours before Lupus went to Fulda about 828, but, I think, not much before that time — say c. 825. For the sake of Lupus's reputation as a borrower, we may charitably suppose that it was written expressly for him by the monks of St Martin's.

The little company of palaeographers, and the larger company of all who are interested in the history of culture in the ninth century, await with impatience the publication of the other manuscripts on Professor Beeson's list and his final estimate of the achievements of Lupus Servatus as a humanistic collector of manuscripts and a philological editor of texts.

E. K. RAND,
Harvard University

¹*Survey*, pp. 140 f.

ANTON BLANCK, *Konung Alexander, Bo Jonsson Grip och Albrekt av Mecklenburg*. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells, 1930. Paper. Pp. 73.

IN THE present monograph, originally appearing in *Samlaren*, N.F., Vol. x (Uppsala, 1929), Dr Blanck devotes himself to the excellent though hitherto somewhat neglected fourteenth-century metrical romance, *Konung Alexander*. After an analysis of pertinent portions of the romance and a statement of Swedish internal politics between 1371-1386, the author concludes (pp. 41 ff.) that *Konung Alexander* is not merely the generally recognized translation of the *Historia de Preliis*, recension I², but that it is perhaps first and foremost a 'Tendenzschrift' in which Darius has been identified by small, original touches of the poet with the shadow-king Albert of Mecklenburg, Alexander less strikingly with the imperial chancellor (*riksdrots*), Bo Jonsson of Gripsholm. The career of the weak, luxury-loving Albert and his final suppression to virtual impotence by Bo Jonsson is traced and appraised with the aid of documents and the most recent historical research; the chief points raised are then compared with passages from the approximate Latin source. It seems to the reviewer conceivable that immediately contemporary readers may have felt a parallel to exist between the portrait of Darius and their own effete king. However, this same sort of parallelism could no doubt be made to hold for other persons, times, and places in relation to other vernacular versions of the Alexander romance.

Now opposed to Albert was Bo Jonsson; to Darius, Alexander. Would these same readers have identified the great Emathian conquerer with the effective, forceful, and evidently exceedingly wealthy Bo Jonsson? Dr Blanck lays no little stress upon the poet's description of Alexander as '*liten och ful*'; Alexander's small stature is traditional and is specified in the poet's Latin source, but 'ugliness' seems to be free a addition. The thread which joins Alexander's ugliness to Bo Jonsson is, however, slender, and rests on the result of excavations of Bo Jonsson's putative grave (pp. 59 ff.) where the smallest of three smallish skeletons, showing minor deformities (including signs of rickets), *may* be the chancellor's, whose health-inheritance seems furthermore not to have been good. If so, there is a presumption that Bo Jonsson *may* have been ugly, perhaps notoriously ugly; if so, the ugly Alexander *might* have been identified with ugly Bo Jonsson. In the brief Epilogue to the poem, it is said that Bo Jonsson had the romance turned from Latin into Swedish verse. We may ask whether Bo Jonsson or his literary agent — to whom Dr Blanck refers on occasion — would have lighted upon 'ugliness' as a point of identification between himself and Alexander?

One can scarcely deny the possibility that contemporary readers might, as they read certain lines about Darius, have seen in him a sort of counter-

part of Albert, but to go further seems daring to say the least. The modern fashion of reading political satire into various and sundry literary works, otherwise straightforward in character, is indeed a dangerous one, and worse than dangerous, all too often seductive both to writer and reader.

F. P. MAGOUN, JR.,
Harvard University

SISTER MARY ALBANIA BURNS, *Saint John Chrysostom's Homilies on the Statues, A Study of their Rhetorical Qualities and Form.* (The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, vol. xxii.) Washington, D.C.: Catholic University, 1930. Pp. 121+viii. \$3.50.

FOLLOWING the general plan of figures first adopted and arranged by J. M. Campbell in Volume II of the Patristic Series, a plan which has been accepted with slight variations as to terminology by succeeding writers on style in this series, Sister Mary Albania Burns has produced a thorough and a useful study of the style of St John Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Statues*. Additional opportunity has been given to the author of drawing accurate conclusions from her results by the comparison with the style of the *Sermons* of St Basil,¹ rendered possible by the similar statistical arrangement. It is to be regretted that Guignet, whom the author omits from her bibliography, probably because she was unable to make practical use of his results, and Meridier did not employ the statistical arrangement in their studies of the style of Gregory of Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa, thus producing a broader field of comparison.

The first chapter of this excellent dissertation contains an exposition of the circumstances which called forth these twenty-one sermons and a brief summary of each of them. The succeeding chapters deal with the different figures of speech, viz., Figures of Redundancy, Repetition, Sound, Dramatic Vivacity, Argumentation, Minor Figures Developed in the Spirit of the Second Sophistic, Gorgianic Figures and Allied Devices of Parallelism, Metaphor, Comparison, and Ecphrasis. The conclusion represents to us St John Chrysostom as an orator with a style that is easy and flexible, practical, persuasive, and sympathetic, which shows Sophistic influence, but which never sacrifices thought for mere display.

In comparing her findings in figures of sound with those applying to St Basil, the author would perhaps have observed a greater resemblance between the styles of Chrysostom and Basil had she made use of the results obtained in my study of the Letters of St Basil.² Campbell is apparently

¹ J. M. Campbell, *The Influence of the Second Sophistic on the Style of the Sermons of St Basil the Great.* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University, 1922.)

² Sister Agnes Clare Way, *The Language and Style of the Letters of St Basil* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University, 1927.)

rather restrained in his acceptance of figures of sound, according to his statement that, 'In a language so highly inflected as the Greek rhetorical design must be very obvious before one is justified in calling what appears to be a figure of sound truly such.'¹ Thus if we consider paranomasia, the *Letters* of St Basil yield almost the same proportion of examples as the *Sermons* of St Chrysostom, the ratio of lines of text of the letters to the *Sermons* being approximately three to two and of figures 600 to 485. Polypoton is even more frequent in the *Letters* of Basil, which furnish 230 examples, than in the *Sermons* of St Chrysostom, which show 106 instances. Again, alliteration occurs in practically the same proportion in both, viz., 300 instances in the *Letters* as compared with 203 instances in the *Sermons*. The *Letters* show fewer examples proportionately of parachesis than the *Sermons*, i.e., 48 in the *Letters* and 39 in the *Sermons*. Taking these numbers into consideration we may question the accuracy of the conclusion of Chapter IV that, 'In the use of these figures of sound it is to be noted that Chrysostom is consistently far more elaborate and profuse than Basil.'

This, however, is but a minor point, since the dissertation aims at presenting the style and the influence of the *Second Sophistic* on the style of the *Sermons* of Chrysostom and refers to the style of Basil only as a basis of comparison. The quality and clearness of the examples, as well as the accuracy of recording them testify to the carefulness and thoroughness of the study. The arrangement, too, of the examples, especially those of parallelism, is such as to make the figure apparent at a glance. Without doubt, the work as a whole will prove of the greatest use to scholars in the field of early Greek patristic literature.

SISTER AGNES CLARE WAY,
Our Lady of the Lake College,
San Antonio, Texas

H. C. BUTLER, *Early Churches in Syria (Fourth to Seventh Centuries)*, ed. and completed by E. B. Smith, Part I. Princeton University: Department of Art and Archaeology, 1929. Cloth. Pp. x+274. 288 illustrations. \$17.00.

ARCHAEOLOGISTS are in general turning against Strzygowski's bold hypothesis which traces the origin of much that is most significant in Christian architecture to Armenia. No one, however, can possibly deny the beauty and interest of the Armenian work, or deny it an honorable place when its position is rightly understood. It belonged to the now shattered but once so flourishing Antiochene patriarchate, and received its church architecture from Syria and neighboring Anatolia where Syrian influence was strong. But Armenia was also much influenced by Persia, and it is fair to say that Armenian church architecture is a fruition of the Syrian under Persian in-

¹ Campbell, *Op. cit.*, xi.

fluence, subsequent to the ruin which swept over Syria in the wake of the Mohammedan conquest. The Armenians developed the domed cross and the periapsidal plan far beyond their Syrian prototypes, and they reinterpreted the basilica.

The same may be said of the Byzantine builders. The types used by the Syrian school of late Roman times were also developed by the architects of the New Rome under the influence of ideas current in Egypt and structural conceptions based on the old Roman imperial vaulted style. This led to the culmination of Byzantine church architecture in Justinian's reign. Further development of the domed cross in particular is responsible for much of its character in later times.

It may be said in addition that the stately Imperial Christian basilican style of the time of Constantine probably owes a great deal of its character to works in Syria before the Peace of the Church. This is only natural, for the first Christian builders did their work in the presence of monumental types which Constantine's architects knew and used; moreover, the Syrian school of architecture was by far the most active in the late Empire.

Thus, while Syrian Christian architecture rarely achieved first-rate esthetic successes with its buildings and never produced a magnificent epitome as it might have done if its career had not been cut off, a fundamental knowledge of it is necessary to any student of Christian antiquities in the East.

These facts suggest the importance of the excellent publication under review, for it consists of a careful and detailed presentation of some two hundred Syrian churches dating from the fourth to the seventh centuries. Abundant chronological data are given, accompanied by sober and thoughtful historical and topographical comments, and well-matured analysis of origins, influences, plans, construction, decoration, and accessories. There is a multitude of plans, elevations, sections, and photographs. The work has, of course, the same basis as the somewhat bewildering official publication of Mr Butler's expedition to Syria; indeed, the same plates and photographs are used; but the whole has been recast and put into a much more convenient and useful form. Mr Butler himself did the groundwork of the revision before his pathetic death in 1922; Mr Baldwin Smith has carried this task conscientiously to completion and brought the work into line with the best of recent scholarship, without altering its essential character as Mr Butler's own. It will assuredly be, for a long time, the standard monumental publication in its field. The book would have gained by the inclusion of general and detailed maps. Here and there one finds little slips such as foreign printers make in English, but the typographical work is nevertheless very good. The appearance of many of the pages would have been im-

proved by cutting out the rather coarsely lettered names on many of the drawings, but the drawings themselves are very clear and readable. The plans have been reproduced (with rare exceptions) at a uniform scale, which gives a very welcome consistency in presentation.

Mr Baldwin Smith has deserved well of his revered friend and teacher.

K. J. CONANT,
Harvard University

EUGENE H. BYRNE, *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. Cambridge: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1930. Pp. ix+159.

ALTHOUGH we have long had some knowledge of the organization of mediaeval shipping, our dependence upon general codes of maritime law has been a very serious limitation. The importance of the notarial archives was recognized, but few documents were published, and no systematic use was made of the archives themselves. The extended researches of Professor Byrne in the records of the Genoese notaries have happily made it possible to correct and complete our knowledge on nearly all the primary issues involved in the organization of merchant shipping at Genoa. These sources have given us a large mass of material at early dates, a really adequate chronology of institutional and legal change, and decisive answers to important questions that have hitherto remained ambiguous or without even tentative solutions.

The extent of the material examined makes it safe to assert categorically that the merchant galleys were never more than a rather luxurious type of carrier employed only on certain routes and confined to specific classes of goods. The primary tonnage of commerce was at all times carried by sailing vessels. There is also decisive evidence of the general use of the lateen sail at an early date, as presumed by Jal on the basis of somewhat inadequate documentation. We have evidence, too, that Genoese ships had attained by 1251 a maximum capacity of about 600 dead weight tons. Changes in the modes of ownership can be dated: prior to 1150, ships were commonly owned by the skippers and a few associates; between 1150 and 1250, widely dispersed share ownership was most common; after 1250, ownership becomes highly concentrated in the hands of a class of capitalists with little direct concern with the task of navigation. Freight contracts disclose many changes in form: predominantly oral prior to 1200, notarial contracts then become numerous though there are uncertainties about the handling of many details; by 1250, the notarial forms are well established. The shipping business is thereafter based upon carefully prepared written contracts which cover every detail of the relations between shippers and owners, and

consequently throw a flood of light upon many matters that do not appear in the codes at all.

A careful selection of documents is published in an appendix. They constitute a most desirable set of texts for critical study, and add a finishing touch to this notable contribution to the history of medieval commerce.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER,
Harvard University

F. COGNASSO, *Amedeo VIII*. Turin: Paravia, 1930. Paper. Two vols., pp. viii + 274; viii + 232.

THESE volumes belong to a series of historical biographies destined to illustrate the outstanding personalities of the House of Savoy from its beginnings with Humbert Biancamano in the twelfth century up to modern times. Apart from its historical value, this collection assumes a new significance in contemporary Italian historiography, coming as it does at a period in which the last descendants of the Savoy dynasty seem to be accepting with resignation a situation very similar to that of the last Merovingian kings.

F. Cognasso has already contributed to this series two important biographies, those of Humbert Biancamano and of Amedeus VII, the Green Count (1334-1383). His new work deals with Amedeus VIII (1383-1451), one of the most famous rulers of the House of Savoy. He was the last of the Counts, and the first to assume the title of 'Duke' by a grant of the Emperor Sigismund (1416). In 1439 he was elected anti-pope by the rebel Council of Bâle, and assumed the name Felix V, which he retained for ten years up to 1449, when he was induced to resign and to accept from pope Nicholas V the title of Cardinal of the Roman Church and of Papal Legate over the regions which formerly belonged to his obedience.

His biography is really a comprehensive history of the troublesome events of the political, religious, and social life from the last decades of the fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century. He played an active part in that whole history: the civil wars and the English war in France, the competitions for the imperial crown, the struggles among the various Italian states, the efforts to put an end to the Great Western Schism, and the gathering of the Council of Constance. Finally, he identified himself with the new schism of the Council of Bâle.

No wonder that, after the studies of Monod, Guichenon, Costa de Beauregard, Bruchet, Buraggi, Gabotto, and Cognasso himself, all on various periods or aspects of the long reign of Amedeus VIII, a comprehensive biography of this remarkable prince was very much desired. But Mr Cognasso warns us that the present work is not final. For twenty years he has been gathering materials for a complete history of the Duke and his times, and what he offers in these two volumes is only a first sketch destined to

be superseded by a more complete and more organic work. As a matter of fact, this book is, more than anything else, a series of chapters dealing with various topics concerning the government, administration, institutions, family life, and general policies of his reign, rather than an organic chronological and systematic study of the man and his times. Such as it is, however, it will be welcomed by students of European history, for it gives, above all, a very instructive picture, though on a small scale, of the long and difficult task which confronted the monarchies at that time, the task of breaking the feudal system which surrounded each town and each castle by a wall of privileges, exceptions, and local jurisdictions, and of forcing upon all of them the authority of a central government. With Amedeus VIII, though he himself very seldom crossed the Alps and continued to maintain his capital in the Trans-Alpine domains, the House of Savoy began to play an important part in the history of Italy, for not only did he add to his states the principality of Piedmont, formerly ruled by the branch of Savoy-Acaia, and impose his suzerainty on the marquises of Saluzzo, bringing thus almost the whole Piedmontese region under his sway, but he cherished, as well, ambitious views towards the Milanese region, and through marriages, alliances, and wars with Milan, Venice, Genoa, and Naples, became a power to be reckoned with in Italian affairs. But the personality of Amedeus VIII, as a factor in European history, appears even more conspicuously in the rôle that he played in the civil strife in France between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, and in the English wars, as well as in the political events which put an end to the Schism.

The little Alpine principality of Savoy, surrounded by strong neighbors often at war with one another, at the same time a vassal state of France and of the Empire, entangled in a thick net of feudal ties and of secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions within and without its boundaries, was in continual danger of disintegration, and only a shrewd and even unscrupulous policy, such as was adopted by Amedeus, could have made it survive and prosper at the expense of its stronger neighbors. A shrewd politician and a subtle diplomat, Amedeus was a master in the art of dodging compromising obligations assumed in former alliance and treaties. Bound by family ties to both contending parties in France, he was always able to delay his choice up to the time that there would be little doubt about the final issue of the conflict. Rather than by resort to wars, it was through able negotiations and by siding with the stronger party that Amedeus succeeded in rounding out his states considerably and in laying down the future fortunes of his house. Such a policy became a tradition in the House of Savoy, whose princes, even when, years afterward, they had crossed the Alps and established their capital in Turin, and were assuming more and more an Italian character, and

were converging their territorial aspirations towards Italian lands, played always most skilfully the political game of standing by the stronger of two contestants and sharing in the spoils of victory.

Cognasso, in spite of his somewhat unbounded admiration for Amedeus, gives a striking picture of the political 'variations' of the Sabaudian prince. Much more interesting, however, are the pages given to the administration of the state, in which he adds much to what was already known through the works of Bruchet (*Le Chateau de Ripaille*, Paris, 1907), on the Sabaudian court and its organization, and of Buraggi on the Statutes of 1423 (*Memorie dell'Accademia di Torino*, 1907). Less satisfactory are the chapters dealing with the religious and ecclesiastical events connected with the Council of Basel and the activities of Amedeus as Felix V. This is evidently the period for which Mr Cognasso has not yet completed his investigations in the Sabaudian archives. Let us, then, await the final biography which Mr Cognasso has promised to write. Meanwhile, students of Mediaeval history will find much which is very useful and illuminating in the series of essays that form this book.

G. LA PIANA,
Harvard University

T. P. CROSS and W. A. NITZE, *Lancelot and Guenevere: A Study on the Origins of Courtly Love*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. Boards. Pp. 104. \$3.00.

WHAT the authors of this work attempt to give us is a study of the origins of Chrétien's *Roman de la Charrete* and the evolution that the theme underwent at his hands. Their first chapter gives a full outline of the romance, following Foerster's text but making use also of readings from *MS. 12506* of the Bib. Nat. Chapter II deals with the *matiere* or main plot of the poem, and attempts by means of a heavily documented survey of Celtic story material to show that the most probable source is a Celtic abduction story which involves a visit to the other world. The recent reviewer who demanded proof that Chrétien had access to any one of the stories here examined has missed the point completely. It is perfectly obvious that Chrétien never read the *Book of the Dun Cow*, but I find no difficulty in believing that there was some one in France who could give to him, or to Marie, 'the bones of the story' of *Tochmarc Etáine* or one very like it. There are of course non-Celtic abduction stories — Ovid himself has one — but it is sufficient to show, as Chotzen has in another connection, that this type of story is very rare in the matter of France, while among the Celts it is very common, the *aithed* or 'elopement' forming one of the recognized classes of Irish story. This Professor Cross amply demonstrates, and it would be superfluous to attempt to add to the Irish evidence he adduces. On the side of the Welsh it might be pointed out in connection with the note on pages

47-48 that these are by no means the only references to Melwas in Welsh literature of this period or earlier; two of the most interesting are Ieuan Gethin's characterization of the relations between Owen Tudor and Catherine of Valois as 'a second Melwas-marriage,' and Ieuan ap Rhydderch's reference to the illusion of Melwas as a fog by which he covered himself while on his adventures.

Chapter III deals with the *sens* of the romance — which includes the *expolitio* of the theme whereby Chrétien strove to emphasize the idea of Lancelot's absolute subjection to the will of Guenevere, which was evidently the idea that Marie wished to have him bring out. Chapter IV deals with the development of this idea before Chrétien and in the work of Chrétien; this is the real contribution of the Provençals — for most of the rest of the love material may be traced back to Ovid, whose work Chrétien knew at first hand — and even with this the final working out was done at the court of Champagne.

It is to be regretted that the scheme of the book did not call for the consideration of still other aspects of mediaeval love, since all are so closely bound up together. One reason why the love service of Chrétien is so different from the love service of Ovid is that men came to think of love as ennobling as well as refining, and one would like more information on this point. But within the limits which the authors set themselves they have covered the ground thoroughly, and have helped us to a better understanding of the thought and the art of Chrétien.

JOHN J. PARRY,
University of Illinois

W. H. FRENCH, C. B. HALE, edd., *Middle English Metrical Romances*. New York: Prentice Hall, 1930. Pp. x+1041. Cloth. \$4.50.

EDITORS and publisher alike are to be congratulated on their attractive volume, which, though in no sense a corpus of the ME. metrical romances will be, none the less, exceedingly useful to a host of readers in a dozen different ways. Nineteen romances are printed entire from an actual manuscript (or photostat of a manuscript), rendered readable, of course, but happily never seriously tampered with. Readers interested in critical texts must turn elsewhere. *The Sultan of Babylon*, Layamon's *Brut*, *Ywain and Gawain*, *Ipomadon*, *The Seven Sages of Rome*, the metrical *King Alexander*, the alliterative *Destruction of Troy*, and the *Tale of Beryn* are represented in selection only. *Ywain and Gawain*, excellent though condensed rendering of Chrétien's *Chevalier au Lion*, might well have been given entire and Layamon omitted; Layamon's material is often related to romance, but his professed interest was in fact history, and what he actually writes is a metrical chronicle, as Wace did before him. The admission of selected passages at all

is evidently a concession to 'courses' on the romances; fortunately this practice was not carried far by the editors. Due to their lexical difficulties the West and North-west Midland alliterative more or less had to be excluded from the present volume.

The apparatus is distinctly elementary but probably quite suitable for readers of Middle English who have studied Chaucer. In point of fact the volume would make a first-rate companion book to a Chaucer course. The head-notes to the pieces vary in excellence and, like much of the introduction, will in practice serve the teacher better than the student. Typographically the volume is pleasing enough with its clear type and well spaced lines; it would have been a distinct improvement had the footnotes been numbered by the page rather than by a curious system of sets of 50, a procedure that would have eliminated most of the unsightly two-figure reference-numbers.

The real merit of the volume is, however, that it furnishes us with good texts of a considerable number of romances, many of which are not easily or cheaply secured separately. Readers of mediaeval literature will rejoice in the appearance of this book.

F. P. MAGOUN, JR,
Harvard University

DON PLACIDO DE MEESTER, O.S.B., *Liturgia bizantina. Studi di rito bizantino alla luce della Teologia, del Diritto Ecclesiastico, della Storia, dell' Arte e dell' Archaeologia*. Libro II, Parte VI: *Rituale-Benedizionale Bizantino*. Roma: Tipografia Leonina, 1930. Pp. xxxii+571.

THIS volume is the first to appear, though not the first in logical sequence, of an elaborate and ambitious series in which the author plans to cover the entire subject of the Byzantine Rite. As its title plainly indicates, it is restricted to the blessings which are contained in the Byzantine Euchology and similar books. The Liturgies are excluded, therefore, as well as all rites pertaining to the administration of the Sacraments. What is included however, is matter both ample and diversified, as the following summary of the contents will show.

After a brief introduction, in which the origin and development of the Byzantine Ritual are rapidly outlined, and a sketch of its contents given, the author describes and analyzes in Chapter I the ceremonies of the Monastic Ritual (*σχηματολόγιον*). These comprise the clothing of a novice, the two investitures—with the 'small habit' and with the 'large and angelic habit,' respectively—the removal of the hood after seven days (*ἀποκουκουλισμός*), the enclosing of a recluse, the reconciliation of a lapsed monk, the clothing and blessing of nuns, and the affiliation of layfolk to the monastic community. The 'Ritual of the Dead' (*ἐξοδιαστικόν*) is described in Chapter II. The subject matter of this chapter is considered under three headings: 1) the

assistance given to the dying in their agony, 2) funeral rites, and 3) rites and problems connected with the ceremonial of the dead. Chapter III contains an exposition of the consecration and blessing of a church and of objects connected with public worship. Chapter IV is a description of the blessing of a house or of a part thereof, and of the accompanying ceremonies. In Chapter V various blessings and rites intended for the welfare of the individual Christian in times of spiritual and physical distress are set forth with an abundance of interesting comment. Chapter VI deals with the blessings of animals, of plants and fruits, and of such substances as salt and yeast. Chapter VII contains a detailed account of certain outstanding blessings which take place on fixed days of the year, as for example, the blessing of the water on the feast of the Epiphany, of the palms on Palm Sunday, of bread on Easter Sunday, of the *κόλυβα* on Saints' days, and finally, a description of the fixed processions of the ecclesiastical year. An Appendix, extending over 11 pages, consists of two brief articles, of which the first is devoted to the following topics: the vestments worn by bishop and priests on divers occasions, the times at which the various services and rites contained in the Euchology are to be celebrated, the liturgical setting of prayers and rites (*'Come inquadrate la recita delle orazioni o il compimento di qualche rito'*). The second article gives a résumé of certain peculiar combinations of prayers found in a number of manuscripts. Twenty-five plates add considerably to the interest and value of the book.

The real value of the work, however, lies not so much in the fact that Dom de Meester has done what had never before been attempted, to wit, given in a single volume a comprehensive description of all the blessings contained in the Byzantine Euchology, but rather in the sound scholarship and in the thoroughly historical method for which he has long since become noted among liturgiologists and Byzantinists. The high standard which he set for himself in his dissertation, *'Les origines et les développements du texte grec de la liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome'* (*Χρυσόστομικά Studi e Ricerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo a cura del Comitato per il XV° centenario della sua morte*, Roma, Libreria Pustet, 1908, pp. 245-357), is maintained throughout the present volume, nor is the rich documentation missing which characterizes in so distinguished a manner the article on the Greek Liturgies contributed to the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* (VI, 1591-1662). On the basis of the 'gigantic researches' of Dmitrievski, as Conybeare once called them, and of several descriptive catalogues, more than 130 manuscripts are cited in the course of the work. The author has complete control of the entire literature of the subject — no slight matter in any part of the Byzantine field!

Profoundly indebted to Dom de Meester, as all students of the subject

must needs be, they cannot refrain from looking forward with an eagerness amounting almost to impatience to the appearance of the remaining volumes of the series.

ANSELM STRITTMATTER, O.S.B.,
St Anselm's Priory, Brookland, Washington, D. C.

VICTOR MORTET et PAUL DESCHAMPS, *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Architecture en France*, Vol. II. Paris: Picard, 1929. Paper. Pp. 00+000.

IT IS the tragedy of archaeology that those who have the genius so often lack patience; and those who have the patience lack genius. In no hay-stack was the sought-for needle ever so exasperatingly concealed; in no stream of El Dorado nuggets of gold hidden among such quantities of slag. That is why forced labor in the field brings forth devastating torrents of printed words. The French school has rendered a supreme service in striking the golden middle road between two extremes — between those who have so much vision that they lose precision, and those who have so much precision that they lose vision. Mâle, Bertaux, de Lasteyrie have all been outstanding figures in this sublimating of a science which in uninspired hands turns to dross. We are eternally grateful to them. Archaeology would long ago have lost all that makes it worth while — its humanism — had it not been for the sacred fire kept burning in Paris. For one of the most appalling of all the appalling mistakes of the XX century, has been the belief that the history of art could be mechanized. Put a penny in the slot, turn the crank, and you will have a corpse. That dead body may be quite exact — so many feet and inches tall, measurements according to standard, and above all no mistakes. But it will breed pestilence and dissolution. No matter how many hundreds of thousands of photographs, how many great libraries, the labor of how many accessory slaves, how many hours of profitless self-abnegation lie behind it, it will be dead, company only for carrion like itself.

The fine old tradition of French scholarship is not mechanical. Foreign students are astonished in Paris to find the simplicity of the tools with which such work has been done. Its vitality lies not in external helps, but in internal force. Those business and wholesale methods, which elsewhere have changed the history of art from the most stimulating of subjects into material for the charnel-house, have happily taken little root in French soil. The Sorbonne still preserves its old tradition, and it is a great tradition.

Paul Deschamps is in the front rank of the younger scholars who are continuing and preserving the work done by the great generation now unhappily passing away, men like Enlart, Lefèvre-Pontalis, André Michel, Maurice Prou. And the book which lies before me illustrates to a peculiar degree this fine aspect of his work. Victor Mortet published in 1911 a collection of ancient texts on the history of architecture in France in the eleventh

and twelfth centuries. This well-made book is the constant work of reference for all who labor in the field, so well known that it would be platitudinous to eulogize once more its merits. Mortet had planned a second volume, which should complete the twelfth century, and continue the work into the thirteenth. But he died before this was complete. M. Deschamps now takes up the work of his teacher where the latter left it, and has completed the unfinished notes with researches of his own.

The new volume will be quite as indispensable to students as the first. The scheme on which both are made is an admirable example of the French method. No one of course questions the value of original documents for the study of the history of art. Students who have worked upon French art of the Romanesque and Gothic periods have experienced how difficult it is to find sometimes even the most fundamental of these texts. They are published in many different and frequently inaccessible works, and many times incorrectly. Yet they are the basis of our knowledge; more than that, they are full of that very live interest which belongs to an original thing. Now in these two admirable volumes these classic texts are simply reprinted. Each is preceded by a brief résumé in French of the contents of the document, and by a bibliographical notice stating, when it is known, where the manuscript is preserved, and giving a list of the previous publications. Nothing could be simpler and less involved, nor more completely satisfactory.

It goes without saying that no collection of this kind can ever be entirely complete. Notwithstanding the publication of the book, I am happy to think that the usefulness of the French archives has not entirely passed. The author of course has selected; and in general he has selected exceedingly well. We have unrolled before us in the original sources the history of French art in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. We have, one after the other, the famous texts so often referred to and so seldom seen, telling the story of the construction of the great cathedrals and abbeys — of Chartres, of Amiens, of St-Trond, of Fontfroide, of Le Mans, of St-Maximin, of St-Gilles, of Clairvaux, of Châlons-sur-Marne, of St-Remi of Reims, of Autun, of La Couronne, of Loches, of Notre-Dame of Paris, of Senlis, of so many others.

The documents assembled are of interest not only for the history of major monuments, but often throw unexpected light upon quaint details of mediaeval life and mediaeval history. Thus one already celebrated by Labande, but in an article too easily lost sight of, is a letter of the pope Hadrian IV, dated April 20, 1156, and addressed to the canons of Pisa, to whom he announces the arrival of monks from St Ruf of Avignon who are going to Italy to seek stones and columns for their new abbey. On reading this docu-

ment, it is impossible not to recall that the pulpit of the cathedral of Pisa, begun in 1158 by one Guglielmo, and now removed to the cathedral of Cagliari in Sardinia, shows strong Provençal influence; and also that certain capitals not of St Ruf, but of Notre-Dame des Doms of Avignon, of which one is in the Fogg Museum, are executed in Carrara marble.

It is always invigorating to touch reality; and it is the great merit of this collection of texts of M. Deschamps that it brings us directly into contact with basic truth.

A. KINGSLEY PORTER,
Harvard University

GOTTFRIED MÜLLER, ed., *Aus Mittelenglischen Medizinintexten. Die Prosarezepte Des Stockholmer Miszellankodes X.90.* (Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten, 10ter Band.) Leipzig: Bernard Tauchnitz, 1929. Paper. Pp. 215. M 15.

THE Stockholm manuscript contains a variety of medical recipes and information about herbs in prose and verse. Selections from it, were first printed by George Stephens in *Archaeologia*, xxx, (1843) 349 ff. These selections, with additions, were collated with the manuscript and reprinted by Holt-hausen in *Anglia*, xviii, pp. 295 ff., and xix, pp. 27 ff. The present edition gives all the prose recipes, with full explanatory notes, rich in references to other middle English collections of a similar nature, notably those of Heinrich, Henslow, and Schöffler. The manuscript is the work of several scribes, and seems to have been written during the first half of the fifteenth century. In his introduction, Müller gives an adequate discussion of the language and contents of the prose recipes. He points out that the compilation seems to have been made for a lay practitioner, since a regular physician would have had small need for a work in the vernacular. There is little or no order in the arrangement. Only slight effort is made to group the remedies for any one disease, and the same prescription is often given more than once. No source for the whole can be suggested, but the work shows frequent verbal similarities with the other English collections, and seems to have been brought together from a number of English works; Latin and French sources were also used, as several recipes are in Latin, and one (p. 121), in French. The collection may be considered typical of the information available for medical purposes in fourteenth and fifteenth century Europe.

Like most similar collections, this one contains many entries which widen and enrich our knowledge of mediaeval life. From one point of view, the book is unadulterated tragedy: for eye troubles, thirty-four recipes (more than for any other ailment) are provided, of which a vast majority must have been harmful. There is much, however, ranging from the curious to the comic: the formula for 'aqua vite' (p. 27), may well commend itself to some of our champions of home industry, while manufacturers of toilet

accessories can get new ideas from the remedies for 'stynkande onde' on pp. 32, 56, 94, 97 and 116. (The curious may see Herrig's *Archiv*, cxxvi [1911], pp. 182 ff. for analogues to *Alphabet of Tales*, number 135, which deals with a manifestation of this age-old testimony to the imperfectibility of the human body.) Other matters of interest are: the panaceas like that on p. 47, containing seventy-four ingredients, or that on p. 126, made up of the various parts of some fifty herbs, three pounds of honey and forty pounds of wine; the suggestion that an herb put in the left shoe will cure toothache in the right side of the mouth (p. 53); the use in cases of the 'fallyng ewell' of 'ananizaptus' said in the ear of a man, and 'ananizapta' in that of a woman (p. 56); the cure of fevers by making the sick man eat sage leaves inscribed with 'Christus tonat,' 'Angelus nunciat,' and 'Johannes predicat' (p. 58); the surprising yet simple indications of the sex of an unborn child on pp. 82-83 and 108-109; the 'souereyn watyr for eyne' in which the solvents consist of white wine, 'vrine of a knawe-chyld and a mayde' (apparently an error, born of zeal, on our author's part for 'of a knawe child pat ys a clene mayde'), and woman's milk (p. 114); the gynecological application of hot fried cow's dung (p. 139); and the prescription of mint juice to clear the voice (p. 93), traditionally still followed in some parts of the United States.

There is a valuable bibliography (pp. 211-215) and the glossarial index is full, though somewhat invalidated for ready reference by the fact that the main entries are made under the modern English spelling of the words. Page and line of the manuscript are given in the margins, but the citation of references in the glossary and, sporadically, in the introduction, to these seems of doubtful value.

B. J. WHITING,
Harvard University

A. R. NYKL, *A Compendium of Aljamiado Literature containing: Rrekontamiento del Rrey Ališand're (an Aljamiado Version of the Alexander Legend, with an Introduction, Study of the Aragonese Traits, Notes, and Glossary). The History and Classification of the Aljamiado Literature.* New York and Paris: *Revue Hispanique*, 1929. Paper. Pp. 207.

THE title describes very fully the contents of this volume, a reprint from the *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. LXXVII (1929); it may be added that pp. 5-11 contain a bibliography of matters relating to the subjects dealt with. Pp. 17-35 sketch the origin of the Aljamia and give an account of the Aljamiado texts, but the remainder of the book is devoted to an edition with apparatus of the *Rrekontamiento del Rrey Ališand're*, supplanting the semi-popular, relatively unscientific edition of F. Guillén Robles, *Leyendas de José, hijo de Jacob, y de Alejandro Magno* (Saragossa, 1888). Unfortunately the sources of the *Rrekontamiento* are discussed only sketchily (pp. 41-43),

and for that aspect of this text, of particular interest and importance to students of the legendary history of Alexander, one must still turn to the far more extensive study of the Spanish Arabist, Professor Emilio Garcia Gomez, *Un Texto Arabe occidental de la Leyenda de Alejandro* (Madrid, 1929), pp. xcix-cxiii. There *inter alia* the *Rrekontamiento* is carefully analysed and compared with the *Hadiz (History) of Dulcarnain*, there edited with a convenient Spanish translation. Gomez' summarizing remarks (p. cxii) on the sources of the *Rrekontamiento* may well be quoted in translation:

The *Rrekontamiento* is an eclectic redaction which unites and juxtaposes fragments of the two chief versions of the Mussulman legend: the beginning is an abbreviated reflex of the typically Islamic recension of the legend (accommodated to the Biblical-Khoranic Dulcarnain and for the most part formed of *hadices*, elaborated with almost complete independence of the Greek sources), a version, represented for example in MS. No. 5379 of the Madrid National Library and MS. No. LXI of the Gayangos collection. The rest of the redaction is related to the other Arabic recension of the Alexander legend, more closely subject — though, of course, with extensive variations — to the Pseudo-Callisthenes canon; this is represented in the *Hadiz de Dulcarnain* . . . here edited.

It is in a sense a pity that the authors of two so closely related works could not have drawn upon one another; for Gomez, Nykl's meticulously edited text would have been of considerable help, while Nykl might have greatly enriched his introductory study of the *Rrekontamiento* with the aid of Gomez' elaborate 'Estudio Preliminar.' Here the Hispanic Society of America, with its interest in Gomez' volume (see Gomez, p. xviii), might have found some means of introducing these two scholars to one another.

F. P. MAGOUN, JR.,
Harvard University

SISTER MARY BRIDGET O'BRIEN, M.A., *Titles of Address in Christian Latin Epistolography to 543 A.D.* (The Catholic University of America: Patristic Studies. Vol. XXI.) Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. xv+173. \$3.50.

THIS dissertation is an extension of the well-known work of Engelbrecht, *Das Titelwesen bei den spälateinischen Epistolographen*. Sister Mary includes in her study 'all Christian Latin letters from the beginning of the third century, when epistolary remains become available, to the death of Caesarinus of Arles in 543 A.D.' (p. v). She even goes farther than her title indicates, since she includes in her survey some abstract nouns, at least, which are not used in address, but refer to the writer himself in real or assumed humility as an equivalent of the first person (cf. pp. 72-78). The titles are grouped under the general headings of abstract nouns, embracing titles of esteem and titles of self-depreciation (1-78), concrete nouns (79-87), and adjectives (88-160). The titles in the first group are arranged in accordance with the rank of the person addressed, a superior, lay and ecclesiastical, an equal,

or an inferior. The adjectives are classed as attributive, in which case they are discussed as modifiers of abstract or concrete nouns, and as substantives. The book closes with a Summary (161-168), in which the titles are arranged as far as possible by centuries and in a hierarchical scheme, an Index Verborum, and an Index of Classes Addressed.

The chief value of such a study as this lies in its convenience for quick reference and in the exactness of its citations. From neither point of view is this study entirely successful. Citations are made by author and the number of the letter in the collection in which it is printed: if this is the *Patrologia*, the volume and the column are added, if the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (*CSEL*) or the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (*MGH*), the page and the line. Unless one knows, therefore, in which one of these collections a letter is to be found, one often has to turn back to the Preface of the book where the author lists the writers by centuries and indicates the source of her text. Thus, such references as 'Avitus, Ep. 2, 15, 17' (p. 26), 'Paulinus, Ep. 5, 25, 10' (p. 93) may point to a volume of the *Patrologia* or to a page of the *Corpus* or the *Monumenta*. Since, too, all readers may not know the century in which a particular writer lived, it is necessary to run through the list of writers until one comes upon his name and thus learns where his letters are to be found. This procedure, as the reviewer can testify, takes time. More serious, however, are the infelicities of expression and the mistakes in citation. Thus, on page 10, after noting that the dictionaries cite references for the use of *aeternitas* as a title by pagan writers in addressing Roman emperors, the author adds: 'no mention is made of the Christian writers, Pope Leo I, Optatus, and Lucifer, in whose letters this title is also found.' This statement must mean that these Christian writers employed the term as a title, but the letters which are quoted in illustration were not written by these Christians. The first letter (Leo, Ep. 63, 54, 877 M.) was written, as the author herself notes in a parenthesis, by the Emperor Theodosius to the Empress Galla Placida; the second, Lucifer, Ep. 3, 321, 22 (*CSEL* 14), was not written by Lucifer but by Florentius, the private secretary of Constantius, to Lucifer; the third, Optatus, (*CSEL* 26), Ep. 8, 212, 21 (not 2 as cited) was not written by Optatus but by the praetorian prefect Petronius to Celsus. This is one of the letters printed as an appendix to the volume of the *Corpus* containing the works of Optatus and this fact evidently led the author to attribute seven letters to Optatus which he did not write. Again on page 18, in her discussion of the avoidance of the title *numen* by Christian writers, Sister Mary says: 'Augustine, however, used it once in a letter to the emperor,' and Ep. 88, 408, 13 (*CSEL* 44) is cited. The word occurs, however, not in Augustine's letter but in one from the pro-consul of Africa to Constantine III, a copy of which

Augustine sends to his correspondent. On page 44 *eruditio* is given as a doubtful title employed twice by Augustine in letters to 'men of high official standing.' The word is certainly not a title in the passages cited and one of the letters (Ep. 87) is quoted on p. 98 as addressed to a bishop. On page 106 the statement is made that *honestissimus* 'is found only in the letters of Nestorius to Pope Celestine I, and also in those of Marius Mercator.' The references given are 'Pope Celestine I, Ep. 15, 50, 499. Similar *ibid.* Ep. 48, 50, 842.' The curious jumble in this statement is no doubt due to the fact that the title occurs in but one letter, written by Nestorius to the Pope, which is printed twice in Migne, Ep. 15, 50, 499 and again among *Marii Mercatoris Translationes*, vol. 48, 841, not 50, 842 as in the text. On page 64 the source of the quotation from Pope Siricius (Migne 13, 1168) is omitted and had the author read the sentence following the one she quotes, she would have learned that *sospitas* is not a title. There are also numerous mistakes in the Latin of her citations and in her references; cf. pp. 10, 38, 44, 64, 65, 75, 143. The treatment of adjectives would have been much more helpful had the author compared the official use, as shown by inscriptions, of such adjectives as *clarissimus*, *egregius*, *perfectissimus*, *spectabilis*.

Such mistakes as these I have cited are evidences of a carelessness in scholarship which tends to rob the reader of the confidence which he should have in the author's statements.

MARBURY B. OGLE,
Ohio State University,
Columbus, Ohio

JOHANN SOFER, *Lateinisches und Romanisches aus den Etymologiae des Isidorus von Sevilla* (gedruckt mit Unterstützung der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1930. Paper. Pp. xii+189.

By the author's admission, this study is drawn from a more extensive, unpublished work, *Die Vulgarismen u. Romanismen in den Etymologiae des hl. Isidorus von Sevilla*, which he completed at Vienna in 1924. The investigation was first suggested by Dr Karl Ettmayer, professor of Romance Philology at the University of Vienna, whose interest and proficiency in Vulgar Latin is well known. Besides an Introduction and appendices the present study has four divisions: Latin words of doubtful origin and meaning in Isidore; forms which Isidore refers to as vulgar (not preserved in Romance); vulgar forms which survive in Romance tongues, particularly Spanish; additional vulgarisms in Isidore, of interest to the Romanist. The first two of these divisions are reprints from *Glotta* XVI (1926), 1-47 and *ibid.*, XVII, 1-46, with no changes save continuous pagination; the third division is a reprint of *Glotta* XVIII, 112-131, with several slight alterations; the fourth chapter now appears for the first time. In the *Glotta* reprints the

words are discussed under subject headings: rustic expressions, botany, zoölogy, anatomy, colors, nautical terms, religion and mythology, clothing, arms, and miscellaneous; in the fourth division alphabetical order is alone maintained. The appendices contain the necessary registers and a list of the passages cited from Isidore.

A great merit of this study is its careful bibliography. Dr Sofer has been most persistent and painstaking in citing every article, every general work which has a bearing upon his material. He was able to consult the slips of the great *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* which is going forward at Munich; he also received many suggestions and references from Professor W. M. Lindsay of Saint Andrew's, whose text of Isidore (Oxford, 1911) Dr Sofer has used as his basis. It is unfortunate that there is no complete list of the bibliography utilized which can be readily examined. The lists on pp. x-xii and 179 are intended as indices of abbreviations; they omit such important items as F. T. Cooper's *Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius* (New York, 1895) and the *Laterculi Vocum Latinarum* of Otto Gradenwitz (Leipzig, 1904) which Dr Sofer does not fail to use in his text. Under *Nachträge und Berichtigungen* the author adds further bibliography which had escaped him in the *Glotta* instalments.

The first reaction of the critical reader is to want to check upon Dr Sofer's bibliography for omissions, since it is in bibliography that the learned author has spread himself.¹ This may not be fair, as certain references may have been omitted designedly as having little value or but small bearing upon the point. Dr Sofer has used Cejador y Frauca as a chief authority for Spanish etymology. It is notorious that there does not exist a single satisfactory etymological dictionary for the Spanish language; in such case it might have been wiser to utilize all the available ones. I do not find any use made of the *Diccionario general etimológico* (Madrid: Alvarez, 1800-1883, 5 vols) of Roque Barcia, or of the *Diccionario Latino-Español Etimológico* of Salazar y Quintana (Madrid: M. Sánchez, no date). I can add two article references: (to p. 151, sp. *cacho*) J. Bruch in *Zrp* XLI, 691-2, and (to p. 101, sp. *camello*) Spitzer in *Neuph. Mitt.*, XXII, 113-117.

The obvious defect of this book is its arrangement. This is partly due to the fact that most of it first appeared in *Glotta* as journal articles. Even so it is difficult to see why Dr Sofer made the chapter division that he did. He also hesitates between listing by subject classification and by alphabet; the result is somewhat of a hodge-podge. Even so, despite some confusion in form, this book will be a tool of immense value to Romanists. As far as can be judged, without exhaustive investigation, the words from Isidore have

¹ In checking upon Dr Sofer's references I have had at my disposal a Spanish bibliography of some 60,000 cards prepared by my colleague R. S. Boggs.

been very carefully selected and most of us are ready to agree with Dr Ettmayer that by a study of the Isidore vocabulary it is possible 'die lateinische und romanische Wortforschung durch neue Lösungen oder Probleme zu bereichern.' (p. iii).

URBAN T. HOLMES,
The University of North Carolina

BRIAN WOLEDGE, *L'Atre périlleux; Etudes sur les manuscrits, la langue et l'importance littéraire du poème, avec un spécimen du texte*. Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1930. Pp. 138.

THESE studies were presented as a thesis for the Doctorat de l'Université de Paris, and constitute prolegomena to a critical edition of *L'Atre périlleux*. The first five hundred lines of such an edition are offered as a specimen. This Arthurian romance is at present nearly inaccessible; it was printed in Herrig's *Archiv* for 1868, not too carefully, and on the basis of single MS., N¹. Three MSS are now known to be extant, N¹, N² and A (the sigla are Zingerle's), and Mr Wolegde is the first to make a thorough study of them. He shows that the first two clearly present errors and omissions of a faulty archetype in passages where A probably preserves features of the original. A, however, is the work of a careless scribe called Colin le Fruitier and in detail the most defective of the three. There are indications of a relationship N²A. In these circumstances our editor wisely decides to print, with full critical apparatus and a minimum of correction, the text of N¹ the best MS. — 11. 1-5740 are the work of the conscientious copyist to whom we owe the unique tradition of *Aucassin and Nicolette*, and the remainder is by a scribe scarcely inferior — renouncing the impossible task of reconstructing the author's text. Herein he follows the practice accredited by Bédier.

Mr Wolegde shows commendable caution in dealing with the dialect of the author and of the copyists and in giving them a local habitation. By his study of the manuscripts he is able to complete and correct the spade work done upon the language of the poet by Wassmuth in 1905. Wassmuth assigned the author confidently to the west of the department of the Eure and tentatively to the neighborhood of Bernay, on the mere evidence of two overlapping areas on Suchier's maps in Gröber's *Grundriss*. Mr Wolegde is not even sure that he was a Norman; he might come from farther west if we assume that the more eccentric features of his dialect gave way to the forms of the literary language.

As to the composition of the poem Mr Wolegde is equally cautious. The evidence presented by Freymond and Zingerle that 11. 2791-5718 are an interpolation seems to him inconclusive; Wassmuth's contention that the end of the poem is the work of a second author is plausible but uncertain.

It is shown with great probability that the poem dates from the middle of the thirteenth century. One cannot agree that by this date a writer under-

taking an Arthurian romance, 'especially a romance about Gawain,' was foredoomed to conventional imitation. After all, the poet who devised the story of Gawain and the green knight showed vigorous originality. Not that we are claiming such for the present romancer; in fact, we think Mr Woledge overestimates his narrative art relatively to the whole genre.

Points of contact with other Arthurian romances are collected, but no attempt is made to view the data from the standpoint of folk-lore, or to seek light on general Arthurian problems. It is all too likely that *L'Atre périlleux* will prove unremunerative in this respect, but its date is not as conclusive an indication as Mr Woledge seems to think; there are most significant contributions to Arthurian story of later date than this. Furthermore, the materials preserved are so incomplete that even a late romance may bring to the surface a vein otherwise hidden.¹

GEORGE H. GIFFORD,
Tufts College

¹ At lines 56, 127, 156, 177, 307, 328, Mr Woledge's report of the reading of N¹ seems to differ from Zingerle's *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, xxxvi (1910), 289. One has every reason to believe that his readings are correct.

On p. 3^v n. 3 read N¹A for N¹N²; p. 36, l. 3, read N¹N² for N²N².

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

- J. Bühler, *Die Kultur des Mittelalters*. Leipzig: A. Kröner, 1931. Cloth. Pp. ix+360. RM. 3.75.
- F. Ernst, *Die wirtschaftliche Ausstattung der Universität Tübingen in ihren ersten Jahrzehnten (1477-1534)*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1929. Paper. Pp. 105.
- I. Gollancz, ed., *Death and Life, a Mediaeval Alliterative Debate Poem in a Seventeenth Century Version*. London: Oxford University Press, 1930. Paper. Pp. xvi+38.
- L. Gougaud, *Anciennes Coutumes Claustrales*. Abbé Saint-Martin de Ligugé, Vienne, France: 1930. Paper. Pp. 121.
- F. B. Gummere, *Founders of England*, with supplementary notes by F. P. Magoun, Jr. New York: Stechert, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xii+506.
- E. B. Ham, ed., *Jehan le Nevelon: La Venjance Alizandre* (Elliott Monographs, xxvii). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1931. Paper. Pp. lxvi+128.
- F. Jónsson, ed., *Ágrip af Noregs Konunga Sögum* (Altnordische Sagenbibliothek, xviii). Halle: Niemeyer, 1929. Paper. Pp. 65. RM. 4.50.
- K. McKenzie, ed., *Antonio Pucci: Le Noie* (Elliott Monographs, xxvi). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1931. Paper. Pp. clxii+101.
- W. W. Lawrence, *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies*. New York: Macmillan, 1931. Cloth. Pp. ix+259.
- E. J. Martin: *A History of the Iconoclastic Controversy*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xi+283.
- E. J. Martin, ed., *Twenty-one Medieval Latin Poems Edited with Translation, Notes, and an Introduction*. London: Scholartis Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. vii+126. 16 shillings.
- A. H. Noyes, *The Military Obligation in Mediaeval England*. Columbus: Ohio State University, 1931. Paper. Pp. ix+200. \$2.50.
- L. J. Paetow, *A Guide to the Study of Mediaeval History* (revised edition prepared under the auspices of the Mediaeval Academy of America). New York: F. S. Crofts, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xvii+643.
- H. Pirenne, A. Renaudet, E. Perroy, M. Handelsman, L. Halphen, *La Fin du Moyen-Age (La Désagrégation du Monde Médiéval)*. Paris: Alcan, 1931. Paper. Pp. 569. Frs 60.
- G. Soyter, ed., *Byzantinische Dichtung*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1930. Paper. Pp. xii+68. RM. 3.
- R. Trautmann, transl., *Die altrussische Nestorchronik*. Leipzig: Markert and Peters, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xxii+302.
- A. M. Walz, *Compendium Historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum*. Rome: Herder, 1930. Paper. Pp. xiv+664.
- W. Weinberger, *Wegweiser durch die Sammlungen altphilologischer Handschriften (Sitzungsber. Wiener Akad., phil.-hist. Kl., ccix, 4)*. Vienna: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1930. Paper. Pp. 136. RM. 6.70.
- B. Wilkinson, *The Mediaeval Council of Exeter*. Manchester (England): Manchester University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xxxiv+105. 10/6.
- K. Wührer, *Romantik im Mittelalter*. Vienna: R. M. Rohrer, 1930. Paper, Pp. 76.

E. P. GOLDSCHMIDT & CO., LTD.
45, OLD BOND STREET : : : LONDON, W. 1.

**MEDIAEVAL LITERATURE
AND SCIENCE**

*Catalog 26: Manuscripts. Early Printed Books of the XVth to the
XVIIth century; Scarce Editions of Classical, Mediaeval, and
Renaissance Authors. Bibliography. (360 items).*

Desiderata Lists carefully attended to.

MAGGS BROS.

(Founded 1860 A.D.)

34-35 CONDUIT STREET, NEW BOND STREET, W. 1.
LONDON :: :: ENGLAND

(PARIS—180, BOULEVARD HAUSSMANN)

☞ Booksellers to His Majesty King George V., His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, His Majesty Alphonso XIII. King of Spain, and His Majesty King Manuel of Portugal. ☞ MAGGS BROS. specialise in Rare Books in all languages, Early Manuscripts, Incunabula, and invite you to visit their Mediaeval Book Chambers in London. ☞ MAGGS Bros. will be pleased to send you their bibliographical catalogues of Incunabula, Mediaeval Manuscripts, English, French, Spanish and Portuguese books, on application.

*553 catalogues have been issued to date
Correspondence Invited*

Just Published

THE MAGICAL ART OF VIRGIL

By EDWARD KENNARD RAND

Modern readers find in Virgil's literary style a greater and more subtle magic than that Black Art with which the Middle Ages credited the poet. To trace this elusive quality, to show how he converted the most heterogeneous substances into a harmonious unit, to elucidate the growth of the epic spirit in his work, is the delightful task of Professor Rand in this new book. All who know his previous volumes may be certain that here they will find once more a satisfying discussion distinguished by keenness of perception, mellowness of temper, and detailed knowledge.

\$5.00 a copy, postpaid

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1 Randall Hall, Cambridge, Massachusetts

NEWEST CATALOGUES

<i>Catalogue No.</i>		<i>Items:</i>
608	Topographies, Chronicles, Set of Views	1557
610	Works on architecture and ornamental design from the 16th to the 18th century	608
611	Asia, Part I (General Part) Western Asia	2026
612	Manuscripts, Incunabula and New Acquisitions of every description	820
613	Applied art	

Catalogues will be sent free of charge on application

KARL W. HIERSEMAN N
LEIPZIG—29 KOENIGSTRASSE

SPRING PUBLICATION

GREEK AND SYRIAN MINIATURES IN JERUSALEM

*With an Introduction and a Description of Each
of the Seventy-one Miniatures reproduced*

W. H. P. HATCH

*The Episcopal Theological School
Cambridge, Massachusetts*

THESE miniatures, most of them painted during the second Golden Age of Byzantine activity, represent one of the highest achievements of Near-Eastern art. All of them, except four, are published for the first time. Placed conveniently opposite each reproduction is a description of the miniature in question, which identifies each person portrayed and furnishes other requisite information regarding the miniature itself and the manuscript in which it appears. Professor Hatch's introduction includes a brief but useful history of miniature painting, and an outline of Byzantine history in relation to Eastern art. An additional plate furnishes specimens of script from the two manuscripts which have not been discussed elsewhere by palaeographers.

Pp. xiv, 131; plates in collotype, 72; 8¼ by 9½ inches; bound in heavy green buckram, stamped in gold.

\$12.00, post-free

There is a special price for members of the Academy

THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

SPRING PUBLICATION

HARUNU'L-RASHID AND CHARLES THE GREAT

F. W. BUCKLER

*Graduate School of Theology
Oberlin College*

A STUDY of the relations between the masters of the East and West during the heroic period of mediaeval history. Professor Buckler has endeavored to indicate in what measure these relations were an expression of the political theory of the Perso-Muslim monarchy. For the first time in English, he treats the available evidence regarding contacts between the East and West with a view to discovering any element of continuity or considered policy which they suggest. Due regard is given to previous studies, including material hitherto neglected by writers in English. The book will be welcomed particularly by students of the Middle Ages who seek a view of the period that is not limited by arbitrary boundaries.

Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America, No. 2.

pp. xii, 56; 6¾ by 10 inches; bound in green cloth,
stamped in gold.

\$2.25, post-free

There is a special price for members of the Academy

THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

ACADEMY PUBLICATIONS

Recently Published

Monographs of the Medieval Academy of America, No. 1.

GENOESE SHIPPING IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES, by E. H. BYRNE, University of Wisconsin.

Almost nothing has previously been known of the practical details of Mediterranean shipping during the Middle Ages, the ownership and management of vessels, the relations between the owners and merchants, the types of vessels used, and the arrangements for trading. Professor Byrne has discovered in the contemporary records of private transactions, which in Genoa particularly survive in great abundance, a source of information which makes possible the present careful study of how this shipping was carried on. Fifty-five of the documents studied are published for the first time. The book is an important contribution to the economic history of the Middle Ages.

Pp. x, 159; 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 10 inches; bound in heavy paper; \$2.75, post-free.

Other Publications

Publication No. 2.

A CONCORDANCE OF BOETHIUS, by LAWRENCE COOPER, Cornell University.

Pp. xii, 467; 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 10 inches; bound in heavy paper; \$5.00, post-free.

Publication No. 3.

A CONCORDANCE TO THE HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA OF BEDE, by P. F. JONES, University of Pittsburgh.

Pp. x, 605; 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 10 inches; bound in heavy paper; \$5.50, post-free.

Publication No. 4.

A SURVEY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF TOURS, by E. K. HARR, Harvard University.

In two volumes: Vol. I, pp. xii, 166, 6 by 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches; Vol. II, pp. xv, plates (in colotype), CC, 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 10 inches. Both volumes bound in heavy green buckram, stamped in gold. \$20.00, post-free.

Publication No. 5.

LUPUS OF FERRIERES AS SCRIBE AND TEXT CRITIC, by C. H. BISSON, University of Chicago, with a Facsimile of Cicero's *De senectute* copied and revised by Lupus, M.E. Harley 5738.

Pp. x, 64, plates (in colotype), 116; 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches; bound in heavy green buckram, stamped in gold. \$12.00, post-free.

These publications are offered to members of the Academy at special prices.

**THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS**